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At a preliminary meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, held on the evening of December 3d, 1859, at the Girard House, Mr. JAMES S. GIBBONS was called to the Chair, and Mr. CHANCELLOR BAILEY appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting having been stated, the following gentlemen were appointed to make the necessary arrangements for a UNION DEMONSTRATION, rebuking all fanaticism, on Wednesday evening, December 7th :

JAMES S. GIBBONS, *Chairman.*

CHANCELLOR BAILEY, *Secretary.*

HENRY A. STILES,	M. S. SHAPLEIGH,
J. W. BACON, M. D.,	R. W. SOUTHMAYD,
DANIEL C. MUDGE,	WM. H. PEIRCE,
WM. VAN OSTEN,	CHAS. P. HERRING,
RENE GUILLOU,	MARSHALL A. JONES,
JOSEPH F. TOBIAS,	EDWARD S. ROWAND,
SAMUEL SPARHAWK,	ROBT. G. HARPER.

The following Report of the Proceedings, from the daily papers of Philadelphia, gives some idea of the success of the Committee's efforts.





THE UNION—"IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED!"

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# FANATICISM REBUKED,

IN THE INTERCHANGE OF

PATRIOTIC SENTIMENTS

AT A

## LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING

IN PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 7th, 1859.

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THE recent fanatical demonstration at National Hall appears to have aroused the indignation of a great mass of the community. While permitting the utmost latitude of speech, and refraining from violence, men who love their whole country, and cherish an unchanging affection for that Constitution which has nursed this nation into greatness, and made us powerful among the empires of the world, were shocked at such a manifestation of sympathy. That such sentiments as were uttered at that convocation should go forth, as those of the metropolis of Pennsylvania, was not to be thought of for a moment. Philadelphia has always been loyal to the Union. Her business relations with all sections of the country are such as to interweave her interests with those of the South as well as those of the North. Her prosperity is dependent upon domestic peace and harmony.

Our patriotic and conservative citizens were even more alarmed than their Southern brethren at such a display of fanaticism, and they determined to disabuse the mind of the nation. No extraordinary preparations were necessary. The great heart of the masses beats truly to the "music of the Union." There was no doubt as to the manner in which the appeal would be answered. Partisan considerations were thrown aside. In this crisis, all political differences sank into insignificance. We have passed through many periods of trial, caused by the exciting issue of slavery; but it was easy to be seen, that unless there was a determined and general rally of the conservative elements, this would be the last test to which the Union would be exposed. Patriotism therefore dictated that the call for a meeting should be issued to all, "irrespective of party." Leading members of the various organizations were placed upon the Committee of

Arrangements, and enumerated among the speakers who were invited to address the assemblage. The 7th of December was fixed upon for this noble demonstration, in order that the effect of the "sympathy movement" should be counteracted as soon as possible, and that the excited representatives at Washington should learn the real position of Philadelphia in regard to armed invasions of the South.

The day was ushered in by the thunder of cannon, which reverberated over the city like a mighty reveille, summoning patriotic lovers of the Union to their duty. The sky was heavily overcast, and emblematic of the dark day that had lowered upon the peace and prosperity of the nation. But the stars and stripes, which have become so endeared to the sight of Americans, and have so gloriously braved "the battle and the breeze," floated over our streets, and waved an invitation to all to rally around the standard of our common country. Every car upon the passenger railways bore the placard of the meeting, with "The Union" in glowing capitals. Wherever you might go, groups could be found discussing the object of the proposed gathering, and the alarming position of affairs at Washington. Perhaps the vital political concerns of this republic were never more universally debated in any community than they were on this occasion in Philadelphia. In spite of the unpropitious character of the weather, it was generally anticipated that the meeting would be one of the most imposing and enthusiastic known in the history of the city; and this expectation was fully realized.\*

Jayne's spacious Hall, on Chestnut street, below Seventh, in which the assemblage was intended to be convened, will hold more than six thousand people. But it was tightly packed long before the hour fixed for calling the throng to order, and the street in front of the building presented a dense mass of persons who had no hope of gaining admission. We took particular pains to scrutinize the crowd. It was composed of citizens of all classes, all parties, and all occupations. The business men were strongly represented, and we observed that they were especially enthusiastic in applauding the sentiments of devoted patriotism to which the eloquent speakers gave utterance, while, in private conversations, they earnestly denounced the atrocious doctrines of the fanatics of National Hall. Workingmen were there, also, to pledge anew their hearts to that Union which guaranties to peaceful industry a better reward than it obtains in any other land beneath the sun, and to repudiate the schemes of those who are striving to plunge the nation into the horrors of a civil war.

\* The number present being variously estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000.

The Democrat, American, and Republican stood side by side, widely differing in opinion upon many questions, but united in defence of the Constitution, as we received it from the fathers of our free government. It was a cheering, thrilling, glorious spectacle, that stirred the soul and kindled a flash of enthusiasm in every eye.

At an early hour in the morning, a company of enthusiastic individuals paraded the streets with a swivel mounted upon a wagon, which was fired at intervals, but the attention of the police was attracted to the subject, and the fun at once ceased.

All over the city, during the day, patriotic demonstrations were made, and it was evident that the heart of the people, irrespective of party, was in the movement. A salute of 100 guns was fired by a squad of artillery, at the wharf of the Charleston and Savannah Steamship Company, above Vine street. Another salute of 100 guns was also fired from Smith's Island.

The shipping along Delaware avenue displayed their colors. The "Westmoreland," Capt. Decan, belonging to Messrs. Baker, Stetson & Co's line, displayed a quantity of bunting. The "Isabel," Capt. Chase, for Mobile, also of same line, displayed its flags.

In Second street, near Willow, we observed a large canvas, having upon it the following inscription:

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DOWN WITH ALL  
TRAITORS, FACTIONISTS,  
AND DISUNIONISTS.

---

Another flag was displayed from the windows of the St. Louis House, on Chestnut street, upon which was the following:

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GRAND UNION MASS MEETING,  
TO-NIGHT,  
AT JAYNE'S HALL.

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They were displayed from all the prominent hotels, from the armories of the State Fencibles, National Guards, Cadwalader Grays, State Arsenal, and Bonded Warehouse at Front and Lombard streets, and many other places.

The following song was distributed about the room :

THE VOICE OF THE PHILADELPHIA UNION MEETING.

Whereas,

We love the North, the South and East,  
The great and mighty West,  
We love the sovereign Sister States,  
Which God hath ever blest,—  
In Union, *one*, they long have stood  
A loved and happy sisterhood!

Therefore Resolved,

In purpose firm, with hearts to *dare*,  
And ready hands to *do*,  
As loyal sons of loyal sires,  
In patriotism true,  
We shall as brothers, heart and hand,  
Forever by the Union stand!

In Freedom's arch we hold a place  
We've held in honor long;  
And firmly fixed the Keystone rests  
In patriotism strong—  
And we'll so act with patriots all,  
That Freedom's arch shall never fall.

To keep the Union safe and strong,  
No duty *we* will shun—  
In numbers many, all our hearts  
In loyalty are *one*!  
And in those hearts, which pride elates,  
Shall dwell a love of all our States!

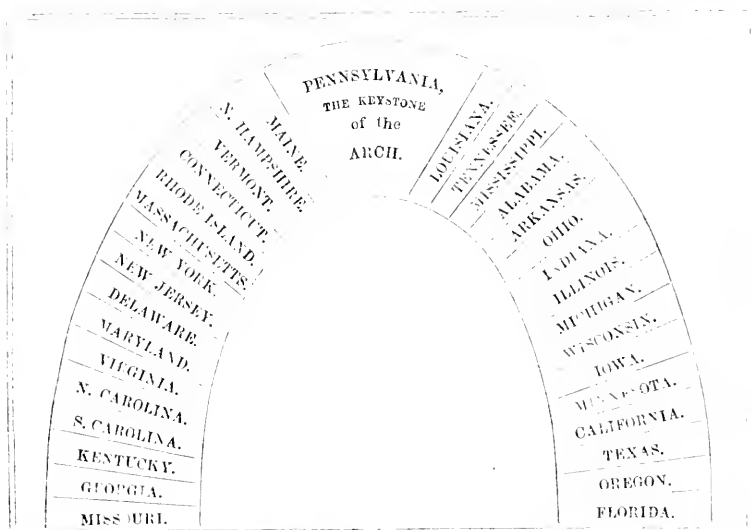
The South shall have her rights—o'er her  
Our eagle spreads its wing—  
The treason plotters, *brown* or white,  
Shall on the gallows swing;  
For those who wage intestine wars  
Shall perish by our country's laws!

Our Hall of Independence keeps  
In mem'ry ever dear,  
The "Old Thirteen," whose lustrous stars  
Upon our flag appear;  
And deep our wo, if *all of them*  
Shall not our banner ever gem!

Our Union first! our Union last!  
Its patriot sons shall cry—  
Then shall our flag, with all its stars,  
In glory ever fly!  
And North and South and East and West,  
In Union bound, be ever blest!

## DECORATIONS OF JAYNE'S HALL.

The hall which was honored by the holding of this grand gathering, was very handsomely decorated in various ways. From the front floated an American flag. On the front of the edifice a large transparency was suspended, bearing the subjoined inscription:



Beneath the names of the States, on another canvas, was the inscription:

THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION.

On either side of these transparencies were gas jets burning brightly, one for each State of the Confederacy.

Within the vast hall the scene was imposing. The upper gallery has recently been removed, thus increasing the space and seeming to add to the height of the immense room. At the Carpenter street end of the hall, the semi-circle of boxes was beauti-

fully adorned with double festoons of flags, extending along the whole length of the panels. In the centre, just between and above the seat of the President, was a portrait of the Father of his Country. On the right and left of this picture, and draping it in their folds were the National and State colors or Col. Lewis' 1st Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers.

Disposed about the hall, and pendant from the boxes, were many flags and banners, which imparted a gay and brilliant aspect to the scene. Among them, were no less than four flags belonging to the Scott Legion. Two of these flags were borne in the battles of our country during 1812, and were seen waving over the ranks of our countrymen at North Point. The other two flags of the "Legion" were truly magnificent and costly. They were presented to the "Legion" in the City of Mexico.

A handsome banner was presented to the Committee of Arrangements by Mr. George W. Edwards, on behalf of the Ladies of Philadelphia.

While Hon. Josiah Randall was speaking, he made references to the recent lectures of Wendell Phillips in Philadelphia when there were repeated hisses and shouts from the audience to "hang him," "hang him," "kick him out," "he deserves to be hung." The eloquent speaker's remarks were repeatedly interrupted by vociferous shouts and cheers. Three cheers were also given for the old Keystone State.

Mr. James S. Gibbons, chairmam of the Committee of Arrangements, called the meeting to order, and on his motion the following officers were selected to preside:

#### PRESIDENT.

HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL.

#### VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Josiah Randall,	Hon. Edward King,
" James Campbell,	J. Edgar Thomson,
" Isaac Hazlehurst,	Morton McMichael,
" Wm. B. Reed,	Col. John Swift.
" Geo. Sharswood,	F. Carroll Brewster,
" Ellis Lewis,	J. R. Flanigen,
" Richard Vaux,	Robert Tyler,
" James Page,	William A. Porter,
" Henry M. Fuller,	Richard C. Dale,
" Henry M. Phillips,	Robert Ewing,
" Eli K. Price,	S. B. Barcroft,
" Peter McCall,	George G. Presbury,
" Geo. M. Wharton,	E. W. Bailey,
" Jno. C. Knox,	George H. Boker,

Samuel Jackson, M. D.,  
 Gen. G. Cadwalader,  
 John Grigg,  
 F. W. Grayson,  
 James Jeffries,  
 Aug. Heaton,  
 Abraham English,  
 William B. Potts,  
 Charles Robb,  
 Lyon J. Levy,  
 Geo. H. Stuart,  
 Geo. W. Edwards,  
 I. V. Williamson,  
 P. Jenks Smith,  
 Joseph H. Thompson.  
 Wm. C. Ludwig,  
 John Thomas,  
 Joseph M. Cowell,  
 John W. Sexton,  
 Wm. B. Foster, Jr.,  
 Charles Henry Fisher,  
 Samuel V. Merrick,  
 James Magee,  
 A. J. Drexel,  
 Charles Macalister,

P. C. Ellmaker,  
 Charles Ingersoll,  
 George W. Biddle,  
 Samuel H. Perkins,  
 St. George T. Campbell,  
 J. Ross Snowden,  
 J. Pemberton Hutchinson,  
 Frederick Fraley,  
 C. J. Biddle,  
 John C. Bullitt,  
 C. D. Meigs, M. D.,  
 William Struthers,  
 A. J. Lewis,  
 Gen. R. Patterson,  
 B. H. Brewster,  
 Benj. Andrews,  
 J. Laudenslager,  
 John C. Hunter,  
 B. Gerhard,  
 Joseph C. Grubb,  
 J. W. Bacon, M. D.,  
 George Henderson,  
 William Swain,  
 John Welsh,  
 Samuel Wright.

P. B. Goddard, M. D.

#### SECRETARIES.

S. W. De Coursey,  
 Samuel Williams,  
 Daniel Haddock,  
 Rene Guillou,  
 Alexander Heron, Jr.,  
 Jacob E. Knorr,  
 Wm. F. Griffiths, Jr.,  
 Thomas Webster,  
 Robert M. Lee,  
 Daniel C. Mudge,  
 Thomas C. Herring,  
 Henry A. Stiles,  
 Edward Shippen,  
 David E. Oak,  
 David Webster,  
 C. J. Lewis,  
 M. A. Jones,  
 Simon W. Arnold,

George J. Gross,  
 Frank Godwin,  
 Patrick Ward,  
 M. S. Shapleigh,  
 George F. Wardle,  
 Wm. Harris, M. D.,  
 Samuel Hewlings,  
 Joseph F. Tobias,  
 Robert O. Lowry,  
 J. G. Rosengarten,  
 R. W. Southmayd,  
 Jesse Williams,  
 John O. James,  
 E. Harper Jeffries,  
 David S. Winebrenner,  
 John M. Dutton,  
 Wm. Van Osten,  
 N. P. Murphy.

The following gentlemen were selected as the Committee on Resolutions:—Hon. Wm. B. Reed, Hon. Edw. King, Hon. J. Randall, Hon. Eli K. Price, Hon. Geo. Sharswood, and Messrs. John Welsh, Chas. Macalister, Benj. Gerhard, Peter McCall, Stacy B. Barcroft, John C. Bullitt, Wm. C. Ludwig, Richard C. Dale.

The Hon WM. B. REED, in behalf of the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously agreed to:

The citizens of Philadelphia, assembled in general town meeting, desiring, at this juncture to express an earnest sympathy with their fellow citizens of Virginia, recently threatened with an attempt to produce a servile revolt, have,

1. *Resolved*, That the longer the government of the Union exists, with its manifold and inestimable blessings, the more is it consecrated by the affection and devotion of those who, as we do, “know no North, no South, no East, no West, but one common country,” whose integrity the Constitution alone secures, and whose varying interests the Union harmonizes and protects.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of the citizens of Philadelphia, this settlement of fidelity to the Union would be fruitless, did it not imply an obligation, implicitly and practically to recognize every duty which the Constitution prescribes, and obey and carry honestly into execution, all the laws of Congress, enacted under the Constitution.

3. *Resolved*, That no part of the Constitution of the United States, or of the laws of Congress, are more obligatory on the citizens of the Republic, than those which prescribe the duty of restoring, under judicial process, fugitives from labor, and that all attempts or combinations, to defeat or frustrate those provisions, and all State legislation to the same end, are condemned, by the judgment of this community.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of what has recently occurred in the Commonwealth of Virginia, the citizens of Philadelphia disavow, as they have always done, any right or wish to interfere with the domestic institutions of their sister States.

5. *Resolved*, That they reprobate, in the strongest and clearest terms, all attempts, whether by invasion, secret instigation, or the promulgation in any form, of fanatical opinions, to excite servile insurrection, or to arouse those who are lawfully held in servitude to violence and bloodshed.

6. *Resolved*, That looking merely to the past, they deliberately express their approval of the recent administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Virginia, by which, according to the forms of law, strictly observed, the commission of a great crime has been judicially proved, and the punishment awarded by law to that crime has been inflicted.



7. *Resolved*, That it is a simple matter of duty, to express the sense which the citizens of Philadelphia have of the energy and fidelity with which the executive authorities of Virginia have discharged, from first to last, the painful and responsible duty which the emergency imposed.

8. *Resolved*, That the Executive of Pennsylvania, in promptly surrendering, on the requisition of the Governor of Virginia, those fugitives from justice who sought refuge within our borders, discharged his duty to the Constitution, and for doing so merits, and has received, our hearty approval.

9. *Resolved*, That the prompt suppression, in the first instance, of the Harper's Ferry outbreak, is now, and it is hoped, will always be regarded as a most marked illustration of the value of the Union, and the efficiency of its Executive authorities in furnishing, on the spot, and at a moment's notice, the military means to suppress a local and dangerous revolt, and relinquishing to the State authorities the vindication of the violated law.

10. *Resolved*, That earnestly assuring our brethren of the South that there exists among the people of Pennsylvania a determined spirit to assert and maintain the Constitution of the Union, and the rights of the States under it, we ask in return, confidence, and that dignified moderation which confidence and patriotic sympathy inspire.

11. *Resolved*, That these resolutions, embodying the sense of a vast majority of the citizens of Philadelphia, without distinction of party, signed by the officers of the meeting, be published in all the newspapers of Philadelphia and Washington.

### MEETING ON CHESTNUT STREET.

When the dense and swaying concourse within the hall had overflowed the platform and threatened the very stability of the floors, a portion of the people adjourned to the street, which was already crowded by those who were not able to get into the hall.

On motion of MR. JAMES S. GIBBONS, the following gentlemen were selected for officers:

#### PRESIDENT.

JACOB LAUDENSLAGER.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Wm. V. Barkalow,  
George J. Weaver,  
James McCutcheon.  
Jacob H. Filson,  
Thomas P. Parry,  
Henry Budd,  
Wm. W. Harkness,  
James Gwyn,  
Geo. L. Senat,  
Henry Sloan,  
D. S. Stetson,  
Simon Sternberger,  
Alex. Murphy,  
Henry Lewis, Jr.,  
Sam. H. Smith,  
Joseph A. Clay,  
J. Harvey Cochran,  
Chas. C. Crugan,  
Mark Wilcox,

Isaac S. Waterman,  
Charles J. Adams,  
Chas. B. Campbell,  
James Barratt, Jr.,  
Mayer Gans,  
Jos. B. Shewell,  
Edward D. Potts,  
H. M. Shannon,  
J. C. Knorr,  
James L. Bewley,  
J. B. Lippincott,  
Chas. W. Wharton,  
John Curran,  
John P. Kilgore,  
Leon Berg,  
Henri L. Foster,  
Clarence S. Kates,  
Chas. Kelley,  
Geo. McHenry.

#### SECRETARIES.

Chas. B. Mount,  
Robert E. Randall,  
Henry S. Allen,  
Wm. M. Greiner,  
John Noble,  
Edward C. Kelly,  
Francis A. Godwin,  
Wm. O. Bateman,  
C. T. Myers,  
E. P. Middleton,  
James J. Black,  
Nathaniel S. Richardson,  
H. A. Chadwick,  
E. A. Hendry,  
Chas. A. Wells,

Richard Price, Jr.,  
Edward S. Rowand,  
Henry C. Troutman,  
Martin J. Croll,  
George P. Russell,  
T. D. Tillinghast,  
Francis Wolgamuth,  
Henry Foulke,  
Chancellor Bailey,  
Wm. H. Pierce,  
John B. Fassitt,  
A. Lear,  
Jos. B. Altemus,  
C. Ross Smith,  
Stewart Wilson.

# SPEECHES.

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[SPEECH OF THE HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL.

When our fellow citizens and friends, either close at hand or a little more or less remote from us, are threatened or assailed with evils that may affect their peace, it is at once a debt we owe to duty, and a grateful exercise of feeling, to give them countenance and support. If they stand in need of actual assistance, we should cheerfully rally to their relief. If they are merely in a condition of extreme uncertainty and possible peril from critical causes yet but partially developed, and are susceptible of comfort and sympathy, they are entitled to the warm right hand of fellowship, which would be given and received with mutual reliance, confidence, and good-will. Our hearts beat with still stronger emotions when the cause in which they are engaged involves in its sudden approach, not merely personal regard and local attachments, but spreads its influence for good or for evil over the whole length and breadth of the land. For one or for all of these considerations our Virginia brethren are entitled to more than a mere silent or speculative interest in their behalf. Direct assurances of the warmest sympathy are called for, with pledges of something more emphatic, if necessary, in the shape of deeds.

Events have taken place in this neighboring and adjoining Commonwealth, not merely menacing to its tranquility, but disastrous and destructive to life and safety—not simply mischievous and treasonable in design, but bloody in perpetration. The heart of this neighboring State—our sister in all the relations of mutual attachment and regard—has been rudely aimed at; and fire, and the musket, and the torch, and the dagger, and the pike, have been brought to bear, in fatal exercise, on property, and limbs, and life. Through the nerves and arteries of the justly

styled O'! Dominion—identified as she is with all that is dear to the republic in the hopes of the future and the recollection of the past—the safety and happiness, the well being and the very existence of the whole Union has been endangered by a conspiracy as ferocious and daring as it has been unhesitating in its avowals; and as murderous in its outset, as I trust, in the end, it will prove abortive.

That patriotic region has been only the salient angle of attack thus far. The blood of her citizens has flowed as a libation to the hopes of broader and still bloodier attempts of sacrifice; attempts are avowed to be cherished in contemplation with designs the most uncompromising. This, we are given to understand, has been only the first act of a long and fearful tragedy. The Union and the Constitution, and all who have in joy and contentment rested under the shadow of their protection, are the intended victims, and by their destruction are to be converted into trophies of this demon of wrath. The conspiracy stops no where short of the dissolution of the fundamental support of our liberty and law; the great charter of the rights and privileges of the people. It cancels the obligations and pledges of our fathers, and it violates with ruthless hands the best prerogatives of their sons.

The energy of a fearless Governor, seconded by the efforts of a patriotic people, has checked and perhaps baffled the incendiary attempt. It has been at least smothered for the present. The ashes may still cover hidden and dangerous ingredients of calamity. Nothing but an overwhelming force of public sentiment and general feeling can—and let us trust it ought, and will, and must forever bury them in deep and irredeemable oblivion. A mawkish and morbid sensibility has crept abroad, which must be rebuked by a genuine devotion to the whole country. We are all in a common peril. The Union is one and indivisible. It cannot be broken in one section, and stand firmly in another.

It is especially here—a spot above all others consecrated to the Union, and rendered almost sacred by its memorials—that sentiments of sympathy should be cherished, and expressions of cordial co-operation should be uttered. The two great States—Virginia and Pennsylvania—are in many respects, besides similar natural advantages, remarkably identified. Separated only, or rather united, for many miles, with nothing between them but an imaginary boundary line, the ancient Commonwealth gracefully circumscribes a right angle of the territory of William Penn, and the productions of nature are, to a great extent, identified. The earth teems with similar productions, as if the States

were intended to be one. Iron, and coal, and salt, are the spontaneous productions of both. Education of the poor is a darling object of each. Each rises over mountains of wealth toward the west. The more southern of the two has been styled the garden of America.

The great events of the revolution had their birthplace here—The first Congress of Delegates of 1774—the immortal Declaration of Independence of 1776, and the enduring Constitution framed in 1787, are ours. The leading men who gave them life and soul were theirs—Washington, the brightest and the best of human kind—and Jefferson, who prepared with his own hand the record upon his tomb, that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence. These great men have honored graves in their native soil, as Franklin, no less memorable as one of the illustrious trio of the revolution, has in ours.

There was little danger of the Union in its early stages. It was cemented by patriotism, as it was formed by heroic virtue. For many a year, indeed, much of the foreign world affected to undervalue us. They knew and cared to know little about us. Time has now developed our destiny and their esteem. Political writers notice us with complacency and pride. We are conceded to be the happiest, and a distinguished continental writer styles us the richest of nations. If it be worth the boast, we shall one day, perhaps, be the most populous. Our twenty millions growing up towards the six and thirty millions of France, and approaching the six and twenty millions of Great Britain and Ireland, are the illustration; and the fields of what composed once thirteen States, and now thirty-eight States and Territories, may yet number three hundred, if we hold fast the bond of Union, and preserve the kindred feelings of affection which it is so well calculated to inspire.

The liveliest fancy could scarcely depict the probable happiness that may await our country united as she is, and long must continue, in one harmonious family. Liberty, dearly bought and nobly won, is a treasure which is becoming an example to the world. A system of laws framed in wisdom, and resting on the firm basis of a written Constitution, if wisely administered, is a protection for the good and a warning to the vicious. We are strong enough to command respect, and kind enough to reciprocate it. We live in the midst of natural and moral advantages. Two broad oceans are our boundaries. Commerce would be our specialty if agriculture did not rival its advantages, with ever-varying fertility and productiveness. The bowels of the earth are as rich as their surface is prolific. Nothing but an excess of

the bounties of Heaven, or a reluctance to appreciate and enjoy them can frustrate the hopes of patriots or the efforts of statesmen. Education will soon become universal. Let refinement be cultivated and luxury repressed. Let liberality distinguish the rich, industry the poor, and public spirit and good feeling the whole people. Let every citizen be prepared, when necessary, to be a soldier, and thus avoid the danger and the extravagance of standing armies. Let no interference be given to foreign rights, and no invasion be permitted of our own. Then, united and free, we shall solve the problem of self-government, and of human happiness; and with contentment in our habits, and mutual and universal esteem in our feelings and intercourse, we shall live, under the influences of religion, liberty, and law, a happy and a glorious nation.

If I urge the claims of the Union with deep and anxious interest, it is because of the vital bearing which it has upon us all. Can too much be said to confirm and strengthen it, when we reflect upon the events of the last few days? Look back for a couple of weeks, or less, to the celebration of the national thanksgiving, a day which has been usually devoted to mutual congratulations upon the peaceful existence and happy prospects of the country. Now, the pulpits have been filled with pious prayers and sad forebodings; with lamentations that seemed almost to assert the fact that the great calamity was actually past. These gloomy thoughts have been entertained especially at the seat of the General Government, where, perhaps too true, a reflection of the general condition is found. All seem to have been looking round, not for national health and happiness, and united honor and glory, but to inevitable dissolution, with all the fearful incidents with which it must be accompanied and pursued.

Let me not draw aside the black veil which yet conceals the miserable future that must be beyond and behind disunion. What a fate awaits, in that profound obscure, the most gifted nation on the face of the earth! Let it be chronicled only in the volume of darkness and death! Let it never in sad reality be allowed to visit us. Let our vows be offered up, to support and sustain the Union: to give hands, hearts, and all to that inestimable purpose. And first, let us be ready to gird on our arms for the protection of our friends and brothers from the remotest danger of future massacre. Let the Union, formed by the wisdom of sages and patriots, and sanctified by the breath and blood of sainted heroes, be guarded like the holy altar of the temple. Let it be saved, by universal devotion, from the rude hands by which it is threatened with being broken assunder.

We have seen the first bloody attempt to effect the fatal purpose. Let it be the last. Let those—if there be any such—who would incline to renew the effort, be taught that there are millions of freemen willing to live, and ready to die, in the maintenance of a happy, virtuous, contented, prosperous and United Republic.

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## SPEECH OF THE HON. EDWARD KING.

The Hon. Edward King was the next speaker. He said:—When I consider the object of this meeting, as expressed in the call which has summoned us together, I cannot but feel a mixed sentiment of mortification and pleasure. Mortification, that before our National Constitution to which our fathers fondly anticipated a perpetuity of duration, has reached a life of seventy-five years, it has become necessary to summon this assembly of citizens, in order to renew their vows of fidelity to its obligations, under circumstances that threaten its actual existence. Pleasure, that responsive to the call, such a mighty assemblage of patriotic citizens have presented themselves, who, uninfluenced by partizan sympathies, repudiating party names, postponing temporary differences, ignoring political leaders, and forgetting every thing but their country, its glorious antecedents, and its future grandeur, have resolved, that as far as in them lies, under the blessing of Almighty God, the American Union must and shall be preserved. No vow more holy was ever pronounced by mortal lips, no richer blessing was ever invoked by mortal suppliants. (Cheers.)

Where is the man whose grasp of intellect and whose comprehensiveness of calculation enables him to assign even a proximate value to the union of these States, not only to our own citizens, but to the whole human family! Estimating the future from the past, the view of the keenest and the most profound investigator, is lost in the immensity and grandeur of the object, whose mighty movement he in vain attempts to measure.

Of the past alone can we speak with certainty. And what a lesson does it teach! Seventy-six years ago, when the thirteen feeble colonies which composed the American Confederation had, after years of suffering and privation, forced the mother country to recognize their independence, they found themselves not yet a nation. The confederation which then composed their frail bond of union—although the patriotic spirit of the people had during the war given it a temporary strength, which it did not in-

herently possess—was found utterly insufficient to establish and maintain a firm and efficient government. Its imbecility was such as to render it incapable of making the people either happy at home or respected abroad. We were without money to pay the debt due to France and Holland, incurred in prosecuting the war; and without credit to obtain the means of satisfying it. The confederation had not the right of direct taxation, and could only obtain money by requisitions on the respective States, payable at their good will and pleasure—the confederation having no power to coerce payment. Some States totally refused to respond to the requisitions made upon them; some equivocated, assigning the defaults of others as an excuse for their own. A government without power to enforce its laws was a political nullity. Foreign nations hesitated in entering into treaties of commerce with such a disjointed and fragmentary nation, considering it too contemptible to be admitted into the family of States controlled by real and responsible governments; consequently, our commerce languished, our merchants were disconsolate and despairing; our ports were without ships; national and individual enterprise were paralyzed, and the country was fast sinking into that torpor, which precedes national extinction and death. What a melancholy conclusion would this have been to the gallant exploits and glorious struggles which won to our ancestors, during their actual revolutionary conflict, the admiration and sympathy of the world. Yet no man who has studied ever so cursorily the history of our country, can doubt that such would have been her fate, but for the adoption of our glorious Constitution. Such was then the settled conviction of our Washington, our Madison, our Franklin, and the other grand old men who united in its formation. Seventy-two years ago, the Constitutional Convention, composed of delegates from the respective States, with *Washington* at its head, assembled in this city, and after long and anxious deliberation, produced that noble plan of government, the Constitution of the United States. Intended for the government of thirteen independent sovereignties, of different climates, productions, institutions, and habits, it was necessarily the result of compromises and concessions, mutually made by each, to reconcile all to the new form of government. Among the institutions then existing was that of African Slavery, in which the South, then as now, was principally interested. Any attempt at interfering with this institution, or any attempt to deny the Southern States absolute equality of right in the unsettled lands belonging to the country, or in those thereafter acquired by its blood and treasure, would have scattered the Convention and its Constitution to



the four winds of heaven, and left the nation a prey to anarchy, or an easy victim to the mother country, when she should find it convenient to re-assume her power over the feeble and disjointed fragments of what had been the American confederacy. The peculiar position of the Convention, in this respect, I will give you in the words of the father of his country, our own Washington, in his letter to Congress accompanying the Constitution: "In all our deliberations," says he, "we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, *the consolidation of our Union*, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, *perhaps our national existence*. (Applause.) This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed upon our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, *is the result of a spirit of amity*, and of that *mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable*." In these brief, but emphatic expressions, of our common political father, is embraced the principle on which our Union was founded, and on the observance of which it alone can be maintained. It satisfied and convinced our ancestors, wiser and more patriotic men, I fear, than ourselves. The Constitution was adopted by each of the States after full deliberation, and became the supreme law of the land, binding on every American citizen by every obligation that can bind man to man. What has resulted from its adoption, to these United States? An amount of blessings and prosperity such as the history of no nation that has ever existed under the sun has possessed. Apparent evidence, this is at least, that the supreme law of the Constitution was not in conflict with any higher law, emanating from the great Source of all blessings and prosperity. Our population has increased under it, in little more than seventy years, from three to thirty millions; our Territory has expanded from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; our commerce covers every sea; our flag proudly floats under every sky; our credit is unbounded, our resources almost infinite; our people rich, happy and prosperous; our government admired and loved by its friends, feared and respected by its enemies. It has been my lot to wander over a great portion of the four quarters of the globe, and wherever I went, whether among the lordly halls of aristocratic Europe, or among the dark tents of the Bedouin, whether amid the sunny plains of France and Italy, or on the sandy wastes of the African desert, I have proudly claimed the title of an American

citizen, and found my claim allowed. The haughty Roman, in the proudest and palmiest days of the republic, never pronounced his magic password of "*Civis Romanus Sum*" with a greater certainty of prompt recognition. Everywhere I found oppressed and down-trodden nationalities, looking toward these United States as the political Jerusalem from which all their hopes of a better future were to be derived. Are the continuation and perpetuation of these blessings, things to be derided? Or do we wish to change them for anarchy and civil war, with all their train of attendant horrors and atrocities? Do we desire these United States to progress in population, wealth and resources, until they become the first power of the world, as surely they will be, if we remain united, before the end of the present century? Or do we desire to see them split up into petty States; destroying each other by internal warfare, and paralyzing each other's industry, by vexatious tariffs? Even a peaceable *dissolution* of the Union, I regard as highly improbable; but a continuation of peace after such a dissolution, I regard as impossible. If this could be so, then is all history a *lie*, and all past experience a delusion. Peace between bordering nations, differing so much as the North and South would, in case of disunion, would be impracticable. Border countries have ever been theatres of bloodshed and slaughter. The slaves of one State escaping into the other, and the protection given to them by the latter, would be a fruitful and perennial source of discord and war. Then would arise the necessity of a strong government, and standing armies to defend frontiers. And our career of folly and madness would terminate, as has always happened in similar cases in the history of the world, in the overthrow of liberty, and the establishment of despotism.

How, then, are the rich blessings we enjoy under the Constitution, to be preserved to us? How are the frightful evils that would follow from its destruction, to be avoided? Are we called upon, in order to continue these blessings, to sacrifice any principle of morals, any obligation of rational conscience? Certainly not. We are, on the contrary, only required to do what every principle of sound morals, every obligation of rational conscience demands. We are only required honestly to keep our contract, entered into after full deliberation and reflection, according to its letter—yea, and according to its spirit.

That some of the provisions of the Constitution may interfere with the peculiar views some citizens may entertain, affords no reason against its obligatory force. It is a new notion in the law of contracts, that one party may repudiate his part of the

obligation because he finds it inconvenient or disagreeable to comply with it. There is some grace for repudiation for want of means—none for want of will. The Northern States knew the South possessed slaves, as most of them possessed slaves themselves. They knew, that by agreeing to surrender persons “held to service and labor in one State escaping into another,” they agreed to surrender fugitive slaves. To the South this stipulation was a *sine qua non*. It was conceded, and unless we mean to destroy the Union to avoid its execution, it *must be complied with*. There is no middle ground to assume—no place left for equivocation to occupy. The letter of the Constitution is clear, its obligation is absolute. That the Constitution contains provisions repulsive to some individuals, or even some States, was what was anticipated by its framers. On this point *Washington*, in the letter referred to, remarks: “That it (the Constitution) will meet the full and entire approbation of every State, is not to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had *her* interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.”

Such is the language of Washington. Had the spirit of amity which he recommended been always cultivated; had those “mutual concessions, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable,” been always recognized by the respective States and their citizens, the necessity for such an assembly as the present never would have arisen. But we have among us men who, in the pulpit and in the forum, on the highways and in the byways, are repudiating the Constitution and its concessions; denouncing the domestic institutions of our sister States: calumniating their citizens; instigating, in their midst, domestic insurrection and revolt; organizing political parties on the basis of interfering with their institutions; and denying their equal, unqualified rights in the common territories of the Union.

What has been the natural harvest of such noxious germs, sown broadcast over the land? An abortive, but a dangerous attempt to excite a servile revolt in a sister State; a treasonable invasion of her unguarded frontier; and the murder of her peaceable citizens, resting, in unprepared security, under theegis of the Constitution and laws of the Union. Are these things ever to be borne with patience? Is no effort to be made to crush the fanatic and treasonable spirit that is fast sweeping us into the

dark abyss of dissolation and consequent civil war? The assemblage before me gives, in a voice of thunder, the response to these questions. The true people of the North are arousing from their lethargy; everywhere they are rallying in their force around the broad banner of the Constitution, on which is inscribed, "the Union must and shall be preserved." Woe to the party or politician who stands between them and their fixed resolve. (Cheers.)

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SPEECH OF THE HON. HENRY M. FULLER.

Gentlemen, this is a fit occasion for moderate and patriotic counsels. It is proper that reflecting and law-abiding men should now assemble. It is right, and just, and neighborly, that we Northern men should, by public meeting and resolution, condemn, not only the recent attempt at insurrection in Virginia, but should denounce, with unqualified disapproval, any and every effort to disturb the existing relations of the South. As Pennsylvanians, we are content with our institutions—attached to our section, and ready, if need be, to defend it; but in our intercourse with our sister States, we will respect their feelings and observe their rights. (Applause.) As Northern men, we hold out the right hand of fellowship, and make friendly salutations to the South. (Cheers.) Men of the South! we wish to live in amity with you, and to have a perfect Union. (Repeated cheers.) Do not mistake the expression of a few for the sentiments of the masses (applause), but believe us to be what, in truth and perfect sincerity, we are—your friends and brethren. This Union, fellow-citizens, to be solid and lasting, must be based upon mutual confidence and mutual respect. Whenever we fail to confide, when we cease to respect, when we no longer regard the feelings or observe the rights of each other, we shall become estranged, divided, dissolved—and no longer one people. Are there any such offences existing as should separate the American States? Is there any such disparity of interest, any such inequality existing among the Northern and Southern portions of the confederacy, as should prevent their dwelling together in amity? (Cries of "no, no.") Are not the peculiar productions of the South—her rice, cotton, and sugar—essential to Northern comfort and civilization? (A voice, "that's so.") Without them what would become of the navigation and manufactures of the North? On the other hand, without the navigation, manufactures, and consumers of the North, of what value would be

Southern productions? There is a mutual interest which, by wise and proper legislation, may be fostered, largely increased, and perpetuated. Here we have a country of vast extent, embracing every variety of soil and climate, and involving many supposed antagonisms; but we nevertheless may, and the sentiment of the American people this day is, that we shall live as we have lived—one people—not in name only, but united in interest and united in affection. (Cheers.) It is not to be concealed or denied, that the question of slavery is the disturbing element in our system. How it is to be reached, treated, and disposed of, is a matter of serious and solemn concern. Fanaticism—extreme opinions—are always unreasonable and unjust, having zeal without knowledge and passion without reason; they ordinarily accomplish their own defeat through their own natural folly and extravagance. Like madness, they rave themselves into quiet, and become exhausted. Unfortunately, slavery agitation has been seized upon, South as well as North, and sought, in both sections, to be made an element for political power. This is all wrong; and the people of both sections are to blame for it.

Slavery is a fact. We are not responsible for it; the people of the South are not responsible for it. It was brought here before the Union was born. A mysterious Providence has cast upon this continent two races, distinct in origin, character, and color. It is a moral impossibility that two such races should live together, in any considerable number, without the one being in subordination to the other. The experience of more than one hundred years has established the relation and confirmed the fact, that the two races may dwell together, and the inferior be greatly improved thereby: for surely the African race has grown, and multiplied, and improved in the United States; and nowhere among the hundred and fifty millions of colored men now living upon the globe, can four millions be found so well protected, so happy, and so Christianized as are this day in the Southern States of the confederacy. Emancipation, wherever practical or safe, and whenever for the interest of both races, is most earnestly to be desired. How is it to be accomplished? Certainly not by outside organization—that is, by associations in the free States, having abolition for their object—as they have only retarded and defeated their avowed intentions. Habitual criminations, offensive resolutions, that because of slavery the people of a particular section are unworthy of social and religious connection, will never accomplish emancipation. They only produce heart-burnings and mischief. (Cheers.) This matter must be left to the quiet and undisturbed action of those among whom

it exists, and are immediately affected by it. It is our plain, constitutional duty to let it alone. The people of Pennsylvania have done our work of emancipation, and discharged our full measure of responsibility, at their own time and in their own way. (Cheer after cheer.) We settled this question according to our convictions of interest and of duty. Shall we not accord to others the same right we have exercised for ourselves? Whether for good or for evil, it is their concern—not ours. Let us, then, leave it, with all its accountability and every remedy it may seem to require, to the wisdom and conscience of those upon whom Providence and the Constitution cast its responsibility. (Cheers.) We hope that the colored race, under the influence of our advancing civilization, may be lifted up, their condition improved, and ultimately prepared to return, occupy, Christianize, and redeem the land of their heathen fathers. This cannot be done through our instrumentality. This problem must be solved by a higher power. We must patiently abide the working of Providence.

Now, fellow-citizens, we, as citizens of a common country, living under a common Constitution, have a common duty to perform—to defend the rights of every section whenever and however assailed. We have no sympathy with that modern hero-worship which exalts crime and deifies a felon—which sends comfort, counsel, and material aid to the cell of the homicide, encouraging treason and justifying murder. The history of the insurrection attempted at Harper's Ferry discloses a remarkable fact—that John Brown, a man of intelligence, of strong will, great earnestness of purpose, after nearly a year's preparation, with a thousand pikes in possession, with muskets and ammunition at his command, holding two days the Government Arsenal, could not induce a single slave to join his standard. There, in Virginia, with 23,000 negro slaves within a circuit of fifteen miles, to whom liberation and freedom were promised, not one came forward to accept this boon. Does not this prove that the slaves, as a mass, are contented as they are? They want no change; least of all, such change as John Brown could give them. Wiser than John Brown, and wiser than those who aided and abetted him, they are content to bear the ills they have, rather than rush to others they know not of. (Cheers.)

Certainly, in this view, the worst enemies the slave can have are they who disturb his quiet, rouse his discontent, and invite him to rebellion. Insurrection and rebellion can only result in his extermination. Strongly as we are attached to freedom, gladly as we would welcome emancipation, we shall draw no lines

of physical or social geography. We will do no act, make no declaration of purpose, to wound the feelings or divide the affections of the American people. We adopt the language of the great statesman of the West—of Henry Clay—and declare we prefer the liberty of our own country to that of every other country, and the happiness of our own race to that of any other race. (Cheers.)

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## SPEECH OF THE HON. JOSIAH RANDALL.

Fellow citizens:—In obedience to your wishes I appear once more as the advocate of the Union, and to unite with you in reaffirming the allegiance of our city and commonwealth to the Constitution and laws of our country.

The people of Virginia were quietly and usefully pursuing their common good, when a small band of Conspirators, instigated by others who kept in the background, attempted to excite a revolt on the part of the slave population of the South. The culprits have had a fair trial, and have been sentenced to condign punishment. The leader, John Brown, has been executed, and his associates will in a few days undergo a like penalty of the law.

The official conduct and private deportment of Gov. Wise have been firm, judicious, and prudent. Self-preservation demanded the course he has taken. If the judicial and executive authorities of Virginia would have permitted these criminals to have escaped, it would have encouraged others to attempt a similar outbreak and insurrection. John Brown deserved the punishment he has received, if he had done nothing else than permit four of his own children to be embroiled in the crime and fanaticism for which they have met with an untimely death. A weak and miserable effort has been made to prove him insane; he himself has disproved this allegation, and immediately before his execution, disclosed the real truth. He labored under the delusion that the slaves were dissatisfied with their condition, and were ready to rise *en masse*, and cut the throats of their masters and their wives and children. Such has been the result of a tragedy which, in its practical result, has confirmed the confidence reposed in the safety and strength of the Southern States.

No part of the Union has been more loyal in its attachment to the Federal Constitution, and to respect the rights of the South, than our city and commonwealth. Whenever the question has

been fairly presented to our people, a triumphant majority has vindicated the rights secured by that great charter of liberty.

We have, however, amongst us a few individuals who are exceptions to the remark that I have made; I mean that body of men and women who have segregated together under the Cognomen of Abolitionists. Some years ago, at every successive gubernatorial election they have voted an Abolition (or Lesmoyne) ticket. It never amounted, in the present consolidated city to more than one hundred and forty-seven votes or thereabout. It has not since increased in numerical strength. We have more convicts in the Eastern Penitentiary than this number of Abolitionists, and we might as well be called a convict community as an Abolition community. These Abolitionists, though small in number, are active and untiring in their treasonable efforts, and they have recently, under the protection of the armed municipal police, met together and promulgated the most abominable opinions and sentiments. It is much to be regretted that the chief magistrate of our city did not follow the example of his predecessor and take efficient measures to suppress such meetings. Such a course will alone prevent what must be the inevitable result, an open violation of the peace and quiet of our city.

The South should understand our position. The people at large have no power to prevent such emissaries as Wendell Phillips and Giddings coming here and delivering abolition lectures—they have no power to prevent the Rev. Mr. Furness and Mrs. Lucretia Mott from disseminating their sceptical disunion doctrines; but they have no part nor lot with them, and can with great propriety quote the language of Mr. Jefferson, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1801:—

“If there be any among us, who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.”

It is a source of pride and exultation that, in the recent crisis, Pennsylvania has been true to herself and her sister State, Virginia. Her Chief Magistrate, Gov. Packer, has firmly and promptly done his duty; the border citizens of the Commonwealth have with alacrity turned out and assisted in the capture of the criminals, and, as far as we know at present, no citizen of Pennsylvania was directly implicated in the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. I trust the South will understand our true position and adopt no hasty measures. Whenever a majority of the North shall endorse the incendiary projects of these abolitionists, it will then be time enough for them to convene in council, and



gravely deliberate upon the proper measures to be adopted in the event of such an emergency.

But the Harper's Ferry conspiracy has developed a great moral truth, of more value to the Union than any event that has occurred in this country since the adoption of the Federal constitution. It is this, the slaves are happy and contented; they desire no change; but least of all that change which the hypocrisy and malignity of abolitionism, at home and abroad, wish to force upon them. We ask the British press abroad, and the Abolition press at home, to feel and acknowledge the rebuke which the slaves themselves have administered to the affected benevolence and philanthropy of these fanatics. Not a single slave in Virginia could be found who would rally around their standard at Harper's Ferry, when Brown and his company had undisputed possession of the United States Arsenal. This noble exhibition of fidelity on the part of the slaves is grateful and honorable to the country. It will fasten more strongly the relative ties which bind together the interests of the master and the slave, and it furnishes an indignant refutation of the base slanders which have been so profusely lavished upon the slave population of the South.

For what are we contending? I answer, the highest prize ever drawn in the great lottery of human happiness; the perpetuity of our Republic.

Eighty years ago, three millions of people erected the thirteen colonies into an independent nation. We have since increased to thirty millions, and have become the wonder and admiration of the world. We have been engaged in three wars, and have come out of each with more credit than we entered into it. We have augmented our territorial limits to an almost immeasurable extent, and we hold not a foot of ground which we have acquired by force. We have a land flowing with milk and honey, in which our surplus crops soften and assuage the evils of war, famine and pestilence in every part of the habitable globe. Fifty years ago, the "Edinburgh Review" sarcastically inquired, "Who reads an American book?" At this day, in the arts, sciences and literature, we occupy no second rank to any portion of the civilized world. And yet we have amongst us turbulent and dissatisfied spirits, who desire to pull down this noble fabric, and will rejoice over its ruins when that sad result shall be realized. It would have been far better that Cornwallis had never surrendered at Yorktown, and that the experiment of a free and enlightened people, governing themselves, had been reserved until a later period in time, when it could have been

tried under more auspicious circumstances. But I am not willing to believe that either the North or the South are ready for a dissolution of the Union, and I conclude with repeating the sentiment expressed by the noble Decatur, at the dinner given to him in this city after the capture of the Macedonian :

“Our country,—may she always be right. But our country,—God bless her—right or wrong.”

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#### SPEECH OF ISAAC HAZLEHURST, ESQ.

Mr. Hazlehurst said that he felt grateful for the opportunity afforded him to re-affirm his allegiance to the Union and the Constitution. He would like successfully to invoke the patriotic spirit which framed the one and adopted the other. The city of the Constitution is well calculated to animate and encourage generous impulses. As a Pennsylvanian, he felt proud to turn to the record of his native State as showing that her allegiance needed no affirmance. It had never been questioned. Her devotion to the whole Union was as firmly fixed in the affections of her people, as were the mountains that stand around her valleys. She has loved not only wisely, but well. Faithfully, but silently.

I feel proud then, continued Mr. Hazlehurst, as a Pennsylvanian, to stand to-night in the centre of her commercial Metropolis, to declare that this ancient Commonwealth has nothing to repent of. Her truth to the Union and the Constitution has been her only dower. A generous recognition of her favorite policy might, it is true, have reflected from her noble rivers, smiling villages, or robed her hillsides with happy families, but no disappointment has ever chilled the ardor of her love, or stifled one single impulse for the common weal.

And what, said Mr. Hazlehurst, is the Union ? It is not territory—it is not a compulsory association held together by an outside pressure ; but it is our country—in its constitutional structure, proportioned like the columns of this mighty edifice, giving and taking strength reciprocal, and making firm the whole with grace and beauty, so that no part can be removed without infringement of the general symmetry.

And while we re-affirm our attachment to the Union and the Constitution, let us not fail to condemn fanaticism—all fanaticism. In a country like this, embracing so many diversified

interests, we can say, truthfully, that fanaticism has no special locality, nor is it confined by geographical limits. Let *us* condemn it; let *all* condemn it. Should it breathe treason to the Union and the Constitution, condemn it. Should it set up conscience above the law, condemn it; should it, under the influence of a wild and mad ambition, invade the territory of a peaceful neighbor, condemn it—and more than all condemn it, should it seek to prostrate the flag of our marine to cover that commerce whose only tonnage is sighs and tears. By so doing, we shall avoid those contentions among independent sovereignties, which, like those among brothers, are “as the bars of a castle.”

Our path of duty, said Mr. Hazlehurst, is plain. Fidelity to all sections, and at all times, and obedience to the constituted authorities of the land, will make our Union perpetual. With our Union as it is, and thorough fraternal feeling between its various parts, we may present ourselves to the world as a grand nationality, fostering its own labor, and developing its own resources.

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SPEECH OF ROBERT TYLER, ESQ.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I shall only detain you for a few brief moments. When the city of Philadelphia speaks, as it has done to-night, my feeble words, in comparison with its powerful utterance, sink into insignificance. I accepted your invitation to attend this meeting with alacrity, being delighted to learn then, for the first time, that such a patriotic movement was contemplated; and I am happy to stand here, on this occasion, and to be permitted to express the devoted attachment I feel, in common with the sentiment entertained by the thousands of respectable citizens gathered in this hall, for the Constitution and Government of the United States. I can well understand how it is a matter of profound astonishment with many, and of bitter mortification to all present, that a real cause should exist, demanding such a public demonstration on the part of the merchants, and other loyal citizens of Philadelphia; but all, I think, must admit this demonstration to be peculiarly appropriate, under the circumstances, and even necessary. The recent outrage perpetrated at Harper's Ferry, although restricted by a merciful Providence to a comparatively limited amount of positive mischief, has suddenly revealed to the eyes of the whole country a startling condition of affairs, which must be met and managed with promptitude and success. At first but little im-

portance was attached by the public mind to an act which was supposed to have been the special work of a few crazy monomaniacs ; but it was soon made to appear, in the most unexpected and offensive manner, that the criminality of the brutal and bloody conduct of the murderer Brown, and his wretched associates, was not confined to those who have already felt, or who are soon to experience, the swift and sure penalty of the violated laws. It is now plainly to be seen that the open violence of a few hardened malefactors, has served, and fortunately served to lay bare a most formidable conspiracy, whose double object it has been and is to effect, if possible, the subversion of the Union and the destruction of the sacred truths of the Christian religion, by the plausible, though vicious pretences of an abolition philanthropy. I pronounce this conspiracy to be a formidable one, because its wicked and insolent organization has been found to extend, with greater or less effect, throughout the States of the North and the West ; and because, even here in our midst, in this city where our noble republican government had its birth, and which should forever remain unstained by such pollution, its clamorous agents and emissaries have dared to insult the community by croaking their hoarse treason in our streets. I also pronounce its philanthropic assumptions to be mere false pretences to serve its detestable objects, because it would substitute a political anti-slavery idea of disunion and insurrectionary horrors in the place of all calm statesmanship and sincere patriotism ; and because, going much farther in folly and crime, it would make a hero a martyr, and even a descended Deity, of a man whose bad passions, while pursuing unlawful courses, impelled him voluntarily to desert the natural obligations due to his neglected family, whose savage heart took a reckless pleasure in scenes of fraternal strife and bloodshed, and whose soul, blackened with many terrible crimes, ventured into the awful presence of God, sustained to the last, by the unhallowed egotism of an impious self-righteousness, without the slightest indication of a becoming sense of humility, and without a single thought of penitence or remorse. Thus formidable in numbers, and thus monstrous in impiety, this conspiracy must be powerfully encountered, and at once subdued. It is, therefore, your duty, and doubtless, you have so felt it to be, to confront with the solid influence of a stern and implacable moral power now, when the strong hand of physical supremacy is not yet needed, these treacherous machinations against our free and glorious government, against the holy inspirations of our religion, and the principles of civilized society. And it is eminently proper that the voices of an overwhelming majority of our peo-

ple should be spontaneously raised at this time, in general and emphatic condemnation of the acts and intentions of the Abolition plotters, and in cordial and respectful recognition of the claims of Virginia to our fraternal sympathies and support.

I am aware, fellow-citizens, that this is an assemblage of conservative men of all parties, and although my political opinions are those of an humble member of the National Democratic party, I am perfectly conscious that it would not be consistent with strict propriety or with good taste, to attempt to occupy your attention with observations suggested, no matter how naturally, by partizan inclinations or exclusive party views. I trust I may venture to say, however, without offence, that the party with which I have the honor to be connected has ever been, and is now, a national party, and that it is willing and anxious to co-operate in the common necessities of the country with the true friends of our Constitutional Union, wherever they may be found; and that it reckons as its foes all those, let their professions be what they may, who would sacrifice the Constitution first and the Union next, to the licentious domination of a sectional Abolition majority. It is quite certain, fellow-citizens, that a new phase in our history has now presented itself. This is the first occasion that a public meeting has ever been held to disavow the acts of those who have claimed the right to levy war upon a State of the Union, for the purpose of confiscating private property and subverting its institutions, as well as to disavow the motives of those who have countenanced such a scheme. And the question now pressing itself upon our earnest consideration is not so much with the past as with the present and the future. The present is taking care of itself—for we have all met here on neutral ground, to rebuke treason and faction, open and covert. And, for the future, let us pledge ourselves, with an immovable will, to cultivate a broad and generous sentiment of nationality, and to defend the wise institutions of our fathers against all treasonable encroachments, whether from infidel, fanatic or demagogue. It is said and believed by many that the Union is in great danger. It may have been in danger a month or two ago, but it is no longer so. The people of the North begin to feel that the question of the preservation of the public peace, and the perpetuity of the Government rest mainly in their hands, and they are equal to their responsibilities. The great mass of the business men of the country, while engaged in their absorbing industrial pursuits, may drift unreflectingly in the current of party politics up to a certain point, but they will never consent to be drawn into the whirlpool beyond, of intestine discord and anarchy. It

is absurd to suppose that our people will not break through all the ordinary restraints of party names, and cease to be controlled by old associations of persons and leaderships, when they may have once discovered the threatening exigencies of their situation, and the attempted impositions of false political prophets. This meeting is a convincing proof of this fact. Without regard to old party affiliations, the merchants and business men of this city have rushed eagerly into it, to respond to a sentiment of nationality and perpetual union, in the name and spirit, not of any political party or of any section, but simply in the name and spirit of the Constitution of the United States. No! the Union no longer trembles in the balance! Heaven has marked its beneficence towards our country on more occasions than one; and the criminal foray of old John Brown and his followers has proved the "open sesame" of our security, by evolving a secret plot against our institutions, which will now be easily crushed, but which, if it had been still longer concealed, might have grown into a very dragon of destructiveness. Henceforth I predict that the pulpit infidels and abolition fanatics, and their sympathisers, may rave in vain. They are already disarmed and powerless. And if there be demagogue politicians, who would lead a sectional abolition mob to the high places of power, under a broken government, at the expense of the memories and the works of Washington and Henry, of Jefferson and Hamilton, of Madison and Adams, and all that bright host of worthies who achieved our independence with their swords and their pens, and who organized real freedom never before known in all the ages, in our governmental system of sovereign States and Federal delegated authority; a government harmonious in all its proportions; just and generous in its distribution of rights and duties; severely logical in all the relations of its fundamental principles; yet so flexible as easily to admit of all rational, social developments—if there be such, I say, let them learn that the people in their quiet indignation will strip them at the ballot-box of all honor and power, and consign them to that disgrace from which obscurity itself will not relieve them. I perceive plainly, fellow-citizens, that your grand demonstration will be now emulated in all directions. The whole country will now speak out. The cause of the Union will become everywhere the only test of true American patriotism, and the sterling rule of common sense in politics; and every humanitarian anti-slavery conception hostile to the compromises of the Constitution and provocative of public disorders, will be trod under foot as worthless and spurious. Be well assured that, when every sectional abolitionist

politician, whether knave, fanatic, or traitor, shall have sunk into dishonorable graves, the flag of our own free government will continue to wave over the heads of an united people.

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## SPEECH OF ELI K. PRICE, ESQ.

Mr. Price said:

My invitation here was not to speak, but to act as an officer of the meeting, yet I see this evening my name announced among the intended speakers. I only speak that it may not be inferred that I am not hearty in the purpose of this gathering.

It is the duty of every good citizen, in some way, to express his opinion in reprobation of the crime that has astounded the country, and to express the estimate in which he holds the Constitution that makes our people a great nation.

It has been the painful experience of many of us, for years past, to observe a diminished regard for that instrument which we should regard as sacred; for it was the work of true patriots: it preserves the peace of the country, secures the property of every citizen, and makes us respected among the nations.

The questions of slavery, which we now discuss, were all discussed in the convention that framed the Constitution. They were then compromised, and should have been taken as there forever settled. It was then necessarily a question of a union with States holding slaves in the south, or of no Union. It was better to have the Union, although slavery should continue to exist in the south. To this union alone do we owe all that has made us a great nation—our peace, our prosperity, our prestige, and all the glory of our past history. To this we owe our security against foreign conquests, and our exemption from border wars, and heavy domestic burdens.

Dissolve this Union, and we must prepare to arm our citizens, and make each State, or few States, a nation of soldiers, to be its police and to guard its frontiers. Our borders must then be lined with fortifications, custom houses, and revenue collectors and soldiers. Our merchants and manufacturers would then pay in duties all that they now enjoy in profits, in carrying on the trade that now passes free of duty among these States. These imposts would be required to pay armies to collect and guard the revenues, and armies to protect us and fight our battles.

Are we prepared to make this change because fanatics of extreme views will persist in disturbing the peace of the country?

These, and all, should learn to practice a becoming and constitutional deportment toward all their fellow-citizens of all parts of the country; learn to live in a fraternal and hospitable manner with all those who owe allegiance to the common Constitution: and should cherish and revere it with more than the loyalty of subjects to their sovereign. It is our sovereign without mortal frailty. It should have a life everlasting.

The Constitution intends that we of any one State should leave to the citizens of every other State the exclusive duty of reforming their own institutions. If we desire to proffer our advice, it can only be done as one gentleman may do to another gentleman, or as one Christian may do to another Christian; that is, to advise when our advice is asked, to speak when we shall be heard, and then we may persuade and convince; but never, assuredly, when our advice is not welcome, much less when we abuse or commit violence. May the friends of peace then, never forget what they owe to the Constitution, what they owe to their brethren of all sections of our beloved country, and what we owe to philanthropy and religion, which never can be advanced but by kindness and love, and a fraternal spirit. If they are true to duty and patriotism they will never countenance a fanaticism which strikes at the security of all law, all protection of property, and of life, and the best welfare of those whom they would desire to benefit. An extended servile insurrection, after its first outrages, would be certain death to all insurgents. All progress in reforms should be made under the forms and security of law, and with that time, steadiness, justice, and security by which an Almighty Providence shapes events.

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#### SPEECH OF BENJAMIN H. BREWSTER, ESQ.

Benjamin H. Brewster, Esq., was next introduced, and received with three cheers and a "tiger." He remarked:

After all that has been said, it is hardly necessary for me to add more than a few practical reflections.

The extraordinary character of the occasion that has obliged us to meet here, warns me that this subject should be treated in a cool and calm spirit of comment. The purpose we have in view rises far above all lower considerations. Heat or violence would frustrate our intentions and expose us to just censure. It is a shame that we have been brought to this pass. The fermenting elements of political contention have, by their excess, inflicted this sad scandal upon us; the fanatical denunciations of rash and



designing men have prompted others to deeds of sorrow, which we meet here to reprobate.

For one, I do not believe that this Union has been, or ever will be, in danger from any such cause. The people of this country, both North and South, will never cast away their Constitution at the bidding of zealots or fanatics. In the ordinary course of public affairs—in the common current of political action—parties and factions lash each other into petty tempests; but down in the depths of the great popular flood, there is a power and a will that can subdue and overwhelm the lawless. Even now, the men who have roused the wild elements of servile war and murder, who have profanely taught others that it was a holy thing to arm the servant against his master, and that it was a lawful thing to rob and plunder, stand abashed and trembling before the bar of public judgment. Whenever the emergency shall arise, the people of this country will tear down all party barriers, trample them in the dust, and, with the loyalty of American manhood, stand up for their country, the whole country—from Maine to California, from Oregon to Florida. Our Union was the work of men wise in their generation. It was founded to shelter an empire under the protection of law. As it was the product of faith and wisdom, so will it survive, upheld by the same faith and guarded by the same Almighty wisdom.

No man at the North supposes that the angry threats of partizans at the South are the established opinions of their people, or that the few adventurers who start from their shores to invade foreign countries on predatory raids, are countenanced and sustained there; or that the bold attempt to override the law and re-establish the slave-trade is prompted by the public judgment. We know here, full well, that these are all the excesses of angry, lawless, and thoughtless men. And they must know,—and if they doubt, this and like meetings will convince them—that we of the North are loyal to the Constitution, and will uphold the law and punish evil doers. Southern men want no foreign territory snatched from its allegiance by American invaders; they do not want it, as it will bring its own curse. They want no hordes of savages from Africa scattered over their lands, to be a terror and not a help. They want no new confederacy at the cost of the old Union, to sunder all ties of blood and common history—to break down the grand citadel of free government, which we and they have together erected to perpetuate our liberties and stand a landmark to the human race.

For my part, I have no scruples upon this subject of domestic slavery. Any man who will think for a minute, will smile at the

exaggerated opinions of those who give their days and nights to its condemnation. Ever since the English first planted it in this country, it has been, and still is, where it most exists, a necessity; for how, without such help, could the early settlers have subdued this savage wilderness, and cleared the way for the free white man? It is now a social necessity; for how can the Southern men, if they wished it, rid themselves of this race of needy and thriftless people? It would be a pitiless act of wanton barbarity to cast them loose upon their own resources, and it would be a wild act of self-slaughter for the whites to liberate them. It is a commercial necessity; for by their labor do we produce our great staple cotton, with which we command the markets of the world, and by which alone we have maintained peace with other nations, and hindered their rulers from inflicting upon us those injuries that would have retarded our growth and suppressed our national greatness.

The aristocratic governments of Europe have suffered from the moral influence of our example; and, as a counter-blow, they who first sent us the negro, now reproach us with his condition. They would incite discord here, and prejudice us with their misgoverned people. But above all, it is a political necessity; and by that necessity we are bound, if we wish to enjoy the benefits of our common Constitution. Our general government is a great corporation, as Chief Justice Marshall styled it, of defined and limited powers. Our State governments are absolute democratic sovereignties, except so far as they are restrained by their concessions to the general Constitution. What man can place his finger upon a line of that Constitution that bestows the power to regulate this question of domestic servitude within the States? And who that ever read it does not know that it stipulates to restore all fugitives from labor, and recognizes the condition of servitude, and binds us all, citizens and States, to protect such property for their owners?

If we intend to live within the Constitution, and enjoy its benefits, we must, as honest men, uphold its engagements; and, for one, I believe that there is no folly or excess that Congress can commit, or the general government sanction, that the Constitution does not provide an abundant help and protection for. We need dread no headlong ruin while we live within the forms of law. The legislature may wander in the heat of political excitement, but the firm, just hand of the law, declared by its judges, will blot out the black lines that record a despotic will, and proclaim, with a clear voice, the constitutional rights of free sovereignties and the constitutional duties of our general legislature.

Within the forms of law we are safe ; beyond them we are in ruins. What men could ever bear with such tyranny,—what nation could ever exist, when one part of it encourage and set on their fanatical instruments to invade and desolate the other with fire and fagot, sword and slaughter, with rapine and murder ? And yet that has been the act of the misguided and misguiding, who have excited the wickedness we have here assembled to censure and deplore.

The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, between just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into confusion. Every man will become a law to himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law ; covetousness and ambition will become laws.—(*Pym's Speech, Trial of Stafford, State Trials.*)

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JARED INGERSOLL, ESQ., next made a speech, urging the necessity of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union. He referred to the traveling abolition lecturers, and particularly to Wendell Phillips, who ought, he said, to be arrested as a traveling vagabond. (Applause.) Those who do not concur in the sentiments of these abolitionists, should attend their lectures and hiss them down.

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#### SPEECH OF CHARLES INGERSOLL, ESQ.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS : The wonder ought to be, not that this vast multitude that I see before me rocking and swaying to and fro, for want of space to stand on, is assembled, but that we should be wanted—that a meeting should be called for—that there should be any need of us here—that when the Constitution of the United States, which ought to be immortal, is hardly turned seventy years, this huge dense mass of crowded men, with anxious faces, should be collected to say that the Constitution and Union of these States, the legacy of our fathers, and the most precious that ever was bequeathed by man, is worth preserving, and shall be preserved ; that we mean to stand by it ; that, forsooth, we will not see our institutions torn to tatters, and burnt and trampled upon by the vilest, and at the same time the smallest, and who ought to be the most insignificant and powerless pack of miserable incendiaries who ever aspired to the ruin of anything—fellows who are just up to burning a few barns, which I understand they have lately been doing ; but who really, as conspirators against their country can hardly be conceived—

and any danger at all from whose rascally endeavors, if we did not see, we would not be able to believe. But seeing is believing! And here is the country in confusion, and these baffled miscreants pestering us with their prayers to spare the lives of their friends, and stunning with their curses and denunciations, at the same time, our southern brethren, and all the north, too, that is not possessed of this one idea, of a crusade against negro slavery. Now, fellow-citizens, I will say in regard to the political relations between the north and south a single word. We have the majority, fellow-citizens, we are more numerous than they; we have more people, and consequently more votes—which yet, thank God, are the only legitimate basis of power—than they have, in the Congress that sits at Washington, and which, under the Constitution, is the judge between us if we differ upon the policy and measures of the Union, large or small, and they are bound to yield to us, in all cases arising under the Constitution, when we ask and assert for ourselves no more than the Constitution gives to the preponderating vote—and which vote, and the privileges that belong to it, in shaping the course of the Union, I say, and am ready to insist, we ought to exercise more freely and largely than ever it has been exercised, since the organization of the government—when Congress first met in the City of New York. I say we have failed to ourselves—we of the northern portion of the Confederacy—in not asserting more fully than we ever yet have asserted, the due and lawful privileges that belong to the majority; and I say, too, if we had asserted them, as we ought, from the beginning, and were now asserting them, *WITHIN* the Constitution, our southern friends would ever have been, and would this day be content and uncomplaining. Mark me, I do not mean that the majority in these States, a confederacy of independent sovereignties, would be warranted in pushing their predomination over the minority to the point to which, reasonably, it might be pushed in a government as governments are commonly framed, and where their institutions are centralized, and purely national, as we see them in the rest of the world. There is an obvious, and ever to be respected difference between that case and ours; and it could not with impunity be overlooked. But it is a truth, gentlemen, which cannot be denied, that the marrow of the difficulty is now, whatever it may have been formerly, on questions of tariffs and others on which sectional differences among us first sprung up, that we are no longer *within* the Constitution—party spirit has got clean outside of it. And this, fellow-citizens, this is the circumstance of which the abolition fanatics have availed

themselves to make their efforts, which otherwise would be so puny, so absolutely contemptible—of such importance, that it has been thought well—nay, really and truly necessary, to call together the people, the primary people, as they used to assemble in the democracies of heroic Greece, and which were addressed by rather different mettle from the best that comes to inspire and fortify us now-a-days—to utter their warning voice of thunder against the heresies of some of those who are among us, and against the dangers that are thought to impend, and which—for let us not flatter ourselves—do actually impend over us all.

Now, this is not the time and place to comment upon constitutional questions, to discuss points of policy, or political justice in the abstract, therefore let me ask your attention, for a few minutes, to things that are practical, and so plain as to be before every man's eyes; and which, as I understand it, are what we are met to look at and insist on.

That the people of the United States, fellow-citizens, must live under the Constitution of the Union, or have no life, is and must be clear to the dullest perception. It may be, for aught I know, better for the South to submit to see their rights in their slaves guaranteed to them by the Constitution, violated, than to go out of the Union; but will the South think so? If your person is insulted, or your property trespassed on, it would be, as a matter of calculation, or even of Christian spirit, perhaps, a great deal better not to peril your person and estate to right or avenge yourself; but you would right or avenge yourself for all that. I hold it to be too plain to be talked about, that if this anti-slavery madness goes on, the Union must be dissolved. And what will be the consequence of that, good citizens of Philadelphia? Why, in the first place, the problem of self-government is settled. The dissolution of this Union, should it be dissolved on the question of this slavery bubble—which is, as it is made and now stands, and is pressed by the extremists, and who are in danger of becoming the leaders, an affair of faction, of sheer faction, every jot as much as the green and blue faction were at Constantinople in the days of the Lower Empire. I say the present dissolution of this Union of happy States, happy in an unparalleled prosperity, without one drawback of any kind, may, and must, and ought to satisfy the most passionate lover of liberty—and none, I hope, adore that bright goddess with a purer worship than yours and mine—that we are not fit for self-government, that men—we like all the rest—must have crowns, sceptres,

and privileged classes to keep things together; combinations possessed with a stronger interest, it would then appear, in the common welfare, and more steady and tenacious than the people themselves. It would be rashness to deny that our capacity for self-government is a problem that we are now solving, which is not yet solved, and which, with the dissolution of the Union, is solved once and forever—solved in darkness and despair—solved, not as Washington and Franklin meant, but in the full sense of the aristocracies of the Old World, which are even now, in the flush of eager hope, watching our differences and praying for the soul of John Brown! Keeping the Union together! Why, fellow-citizens, that is but the A B C of our political spelling book! If we cannot do that, what can we do? How should we be fit to govern, to navigate ourselves amid the shoals of policy, if we have not sense enough to keep our heads out of the fire? What do you take to be this thing so familiarly talked about, and which is called by such a quiet name as dissolution of the Union, as if it were the dissolution, by mutual consent, of one of your Market street houses? No! with the termination of our partnership, comes the same day, civil war, and that the wildest and most tremendous the world ever saw, for even civil war has its degrees of comparison. How are we to settle? Who is to take this, and who to keep that? Look at the map, and you will see what we are going to do—you will see that our territorial separations throughout the entire United States have been made, for the most part, not in natural boundaries, not by deep rivers and high mountains, but by the surveyor's line—by lines not so much as visible to the eye—so that the farmers of Pennsylvania, and of this State of Virginia of which we speak to-night, in driving the peaceful plow, have their fields one half in the Keystone State and the other in the Old Dominion, and actually do not know in which of the two it is their corn is to grow. Why, fellow-citizens, we adjoin six States—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and New York, and excepting in the instance of our Jersey friends, from whom we are divided by the river Delaware, we are indebted for all our separation and demarcation of territory to the surveyor, to a line of blazed trees—a very good one for folks of the same family, who can sleep in the same bed—but who ever heard of rival nations agreeing on such lines, without first fighting about it? If these States do not hold together as friends, *every thing* is to be fought for by the bitterest enemies; for such we are, when we cease to be united. In this new country of ours, where Nature is yet so little changed by the artifice of man; where we have scarce scratched

the surface of the mighty earth; where in real truth our map remains to be made, territorial questions alone, but for the Union, would take centuries to settle; and the *ira fratrum*, the war among divided brothers, would not leave it a question of North and South at all, though the quarrel and dissolution might be on that, but a war which must be national chaos, in which it would be just as impossible to predict limits and borders—what would be Pennsylvania, or New York, or Virginia, when the war was over—as it is to tell, when you dash down a vessel of glass, of what size and shape the fragments will be. A civil war, I say again, in which the same families, same blood, race, language, the same habits and manners, fought out their internecine controversy, would be, in point of terror, such a one as this world never yet has witnessed. They have had civil wars in England. The King and Parliament, or perhaps two dynasties, fought for power; and the people took side with one or the other, and when the quarrel was healed with a truce or a peace, or a King's head was chopped off at Whitehall, or a great man privately murdered in a castle, the people were good friends again. Sussex had not quarreled with Kent, nor Lincolnshire with Middlesex. The country had not quarreled with itself, one part with another. And so it was in France, when the King and Parliament of Paris came to blows. In Germany they had civil war, somewhat on the scale that ours, when it comes, must be. There they fought, one part of the country against the other—the Catholic land against the Protestant. Austria, Bavaria, and so on, which adhered to the Church, against Saxony, Brandenburg and the others that followed Luther. That is, the people were in it; it was not a question for the great only, for ambitious or discontented leaders, but the nation went to it in good earnest, and Germany was broken up never to be put together again. The strongest country of Europe, the modern representative of the conquering Goths, lost forever its place at the head of the family of nations. Our war, my friends, would be like that of the Germans, with this difference: That they had to tear up an old country that would tear, that had places marked to tear, whose territories were separated, not only by rivers and chains of mountains, but by the work of man and the hand of time, by varying dialects and differences of manners, which made the dissolution of their union comparatively an easy thing, so that, after thirty years of fighting, sacking, and devastation, so awful in its sort, that ours alone could parallel or surpass it, they came to a separation and a peace. I can understand that, at the end of our thirty years war—to suppose it lasted no longer—Pennsylvania should have conquered or

been conquered by some of the neighboring States, between which and us Mason and Dixon, or some other measurers of the ground have drawn a line to be fought for; but let the political philosophers who doctor the Union tell you, if they can, how it is to be that after the Union is dissolved, and our lines have been fought for and fixed, they are to be respected, without a triple row of fortresses to keep them.

And now, fellow citizens, an opinion not as a political doctor, but a mere lawyer, perhaps not a very learned one, but still able to flatter myself that I can give you a hint which may be more or less useful, even on so important a question as this, of the preservation of the Union. Poison is dangerous; if it is about it gets into the system, we can hardly tell how. By absorption, perhaps, or it may be by some modern electric influence, but the how matters not, such is the ascertained fact. And here in Philadelphia, on the occasion of the departure of the sainted spirit of John Brown, we have been invaded, for the first time, in any force, by the abolition lecturers, peripatetics, who have vended and uttered their doses in our midst, in a manner which, considering that no community, however virtuous, is poison proof, and that there are people, of both sexes, who can be induced to swallow almost anything, is more or less dangerous: and they ought to be stopped in this, the beginning of their career of mischief. Now, give me leave to inform you, it is a settled rule of law, that any person going to a public exhibition, be it a playhouse, or lecture, or meeting like yours to-night—or any public gathering, no matter what, is at perfect liberty to express aloud his approbation or disapprobation of what he hears from the stage or rostrum. If I gave utterance, in your presence here, to a sentiment which was distasteful to you, you would interrupt me and say so on the spot, and put me down with a storm of hisses, if my sentiments were unworthy and shocking. And this is your right, by well established law. If I am called on to cite my precedents I would refer you to, among other cases, that of what were called the O. P. riots at Covent Garden Theatre, in London, where it was held by the stiff-backed judges of aristocratic England, that while the law would not countenance conspiracies, hissing was just as lawful and permissible as applause. Strange it would be, were it otherwise. What, then—if you may hiss a player that forgets his part, or a singer that makes a false note—should be the reception, in this still decent and uncontaminated community, of those fanatical vagabonds who come here among us, preaching sedition, who denounce our Saviour, curse the name of Washington, and exalt as



worthy of our prayers and benedictions, condemned felons, murderers and traitors? Who open their mouths only to pour forth blasphemies too horrible to think of! Is the most atrocious language that ever fell before a public audience from the mouth of man to pass, because the fellow that utters it, styles it his platform, his doctrine, his creed, sets himself up for a teacher or preacher, and calls it religion or politics? The next time these wicked fools—enemies of God and man, bigots, who, it is no exaggeration to say, expect God as well as man to conform to their own one idea, and that a vile one—present themselves before the public for their voices, why, fellow citizens, let them have them!!

With regard to what has been spoken of to-night, the conduct of the Mayor, and his view of his duty on the occasion of the recent infidel effervescence at, I do not know what hall, to which he sent a police force to prevent disturbance,—a single word. I have a perfect respect for Mr. Henry; from all I hear or know of him I doubt not he is a conscientious officer, and I feel sure he is a gentleman of honor and intelligence. But he has made, what is called in the courts, a *mistake of law*. I do not believe he mistook the facts. He, no doubt, thought of them as every good man must; and he mistook the line of his duty, because he mistook the *law*. His business was to prevent a riot, and to do that he is bound to go back to the beginning, and lay his hand of power upon the party, whether a crowd or single individual that first commences or incites to the riot. Tell me, then, when one of these animals has come among us to splash with his venom all that is sacred, whether it is he or his indignant audience that incites to the riot which arises. Who begins—who makes it? Who should be interfered with in order to the restoration of law and order? If the Mayor were here now, and I suddenly broke off on the course of what I am saying, and fell to “cursing like a very drab,” and you cried *down with him*, what would the Mayor do,—take me off the stage, or turn you out of the room? I need not enlarge on it, the Mayor’s duty was a plain one. He ought to have closed the doors against them, when these infidel agitators offered to come and address us, and not have lent his aid to obtain for them a quiet hearing. As to the Pennsylvania Acts of Assembly on the subject of public meetings, I pledge myself that no lawyer who reads them will hesitate to say that they are simply, and nothing at all more than what is called among lawyers a re-enactment of the common law. They leave the law exactly where they found it; and that is, gentlemen, as I have stated it to you.

A word in conclusion. State pride, fellow citizens, is a very good thing, and the States of this Union are very respectable commonwealths. Pennsylvania is respectable, so is Virginia, so is Massachusetts: but without the Union, after the dissolution of it, let me tell you, you would be much more comfortable, and find yourselves living in a much more respectable country in any part of Europe than in Pennsylvania, Virginia or Massachusetts. It is not Pennsylvania you are indebted to, and which makes you what you are. It is the government of the United States—the Union of the States—this Union which is preached and cursed at, and which we, fellow citizens, come here to night to say we mean to stand by. If you were on any distant shore, the shores of Europe or Asia, or anywhere else out of the country, and told people you were a Pennsylvanian, or a Virginian, they would not know what you meant, or where you came from. You would be obliged to show on the map where it was you lived. But point to the flag of the Union, and it will see you safe and honored round the world. It is the poverty of patriotism, fellow citizens, when a man's soul is pinched into its State or its village, and can't expand itself to the limits of his country. Who is there so narrow and niggardly that his heart don't beat for his whole country? Fellow citizens, let us go for the Union, there our debt lies, for, I tell you, that when it is no more, when it is dissolved, the very names of Pennsylvania and Virginia will be forgotten; and dissolved it will be, when the day comes that sees—I will not say the John Brown family have their way, for they are too small—but that sees with indifference, that sees without interfering actively to put them down, the machinations of these men who are engaged, hitherto with impunity, in tearing down a government which, if it comes to the end to which they would bring it, is the last serious Republican experiment the world will see.

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## SPEECH OF COL. JAMES PAGE.

Col. Page said: I came here to-night with no desire to speak, but for the purpose of endorsing what the meeting did—to enrol myself on the side of law and order, to enlist under the stars and stripes, in opposition to the black flag of abolitionism wherever found, and to avow my readiness to strike down traitors. Ours is not a government of force; it is a government of opinion. Its

strength is in the people. By public opinion it is to stand or fall. Once permit this source of its power to be poisoned and perverted, it becomes a rope of sand, and the slightest touch will crumble it to pieces. For years fanatics and traitors have been at work to undermine and destroy the fair temple of American liberty, presuming too much upon the patience of the people. It is not enough for us to express, at this time, merely disapprobation of their acts. It is our place and duty, here and now, to denounce all enemies to the peace and safety of society, the *Union*, and the laws, wherever met, whether in high or low places, in the press or from the platform, in the halls of legislation or the pulpits of our churches. Let all such be the scorn and reproach of the present age, and the condemned of posterity. Let us do more; let us roll back the waves of sedition, treason, murder, and insurrection that these fanatics in our midst have set in motion. Let there be no sympathy with or for abolitionists of the John Brown stamp; but let them, wherever found, be legally condemned, and hung as high as Haman. The only error committed by Virginia was in not shooting them down on the spot, sparing not a man. Those who teach "bloody instruction" should be made to feel and suffer its horrors, whether by the torch of the incendiary or the pike of the assassin. The active in stirring up the embers of civil strife should beware, lest they reach a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and they invoke the shield of that law and the power of that government which, in their folly and madness, they derided. For my own part, I sympathize with none such; but abhor them from my inmost soul. They are the curse of the negro and the foe of the white man; false alike to their country and their God; abounding in idle, theoretical, but destitute of all real and practical charity. They will give you hypocritical groans, and prayers, and tears; but when the plate goes round, no money. The Gospel insurrection, which they give out, in the language of an eminent divine, is not from above; "it is the hiss of the serpent—it comes from hell."

In conclusion, he remarked: I hold a military commission, but old and gray as I am, if this fanaticism should ever come into collision with the conservative element of the country, I shall be ready. The conflict will then be life for life. Mine, it may be, for the Union and the Constitution; that of my foe, perhaps, for being a traitor to both.

## SPEECH OF THE HON. RICHARD VAUX.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—It is an inalienable right which distinguishes freemen, to assemble and discuss those subjects which belong to their peace, life, liberty, and happiness. This is a right inalienable. It was asserted and attained on the American soil, the Fourth of July, 1776. The establishment of that right and its exercise for these objects, constituted, and consecrated our present form of government. It has never been assailed, never been suspended, never has its exercise been threatened with opposition by patriots. It is eminently and essentially a right which belongs to American citizenship. We meet here to night, then, from no necessity to defend encroachments on our birthright. For what are we gathered at this time? Why have the people of Philadelphia been convoked? What exigency has aroused their vigilance and impelled them to exercise their great constitutional rights of meeting together? The Union of the States is in no danger of dissolution. There is no impending peril to this confederacy of States. The integrity of the Federal Union is threatened by no foe or force. This glorious Union of separate and sovereign commonwealths cannot be broken asunder. That power does not exist, foreign or domestic, which can sever the ties which bind the people of the Union to the Union of these States. That man has never been born, in whose heart or mind such treason was ever tutored, by schemes or combinations to achieve such a result. The strength of our Union is not described by words; it cannot be measured by policy or profit. It was, and is, a divine revelation for the political regeneration of man. Who dare assail it? Look to the past. Has history lost her power to teach? Has memory become silent in a grave? Do we require now, in less than a century since our Union was established, to be awakened to the consideration of the trials, sufferings, perils, and privations which this Union cost? Has the blood of victims and martyrs for liberty ceased to speak from the ground of Concord, Lexington, Saratoga, and Yorktown? Have the wails and groans, the prayers and petitions, of our Revolutionary Fathers, ceased to be heard in the ears of those who enjoy the triumphs their patriotism procured? While the flag of our Union floats in the sunlight, every stripe recalls these sufferings, every star these triumphs. The Union! it defies treason as it defies dissolution. We, the people of Philadelphia, have too many inspirations ever to forget our allegiance to this Union. Within the sound of my voice the Declaration of Independence was written; within the sound of my voice it was first proclaimed to an astonished world. Within the sound of my voice the Federal Constitution was first

created, and by it the original colonies were forever commonwealths compacted into Union. Take from off your feet the sandals of skeptical security; the place on which you stand is patriot ground.

It is then, fellow-citizens, a duty we owe this Union, that convenes us to-night. In the North as well as in the South, we have heard from time to time, the hissing voice of fanaticism and sectionalism, like that of a serpent, in our Eden of peace and happiness. You may call it by whatever name you please. You may designate it fanaticism, or sectionalism, or madness, or error, but it is treason. No less treason because it has not assumed the proportions which treason takes. Harmless as it is, it should be fitly designated, lest uncertainty as to its character, might mislead the unwatchful or the unwary. It has not assumed, it is true, any recognized form of enmity or opposition to our established government, but it has presumed to clothe itself in the panoply which only belongs to the people. It has in the South, used words which only can be spoken by the majesty of majorities. In the North, the miserable few, this fraction of a segment of population, has arrogated to itself to represent the people. Thus, both North and South, the few, the bold reckless few, have, behind the terms only employed when the majority announces its decrees, essayed to make public opinion, an opinion which has never been entertained by any but those who believe in a modern agrarianism. Fanatics and skeptics do not hold opinions in harmony with those of the people of this city. I protest against this treason to the majority of our citizens. Here in Philadelphia, very lately, doctrines have been promulgated which are at direct and open variance with the sentiments of our population. I can speak for a large portion of the citizens of Philadelphia, and proclaim them faithful to the Constitution, and opposed to any form or feature of political fanaticism. I desire to deny the right of this inconsiderable few, here in Philadelphia, to attempt to make or undertake to interpret, the public opinion of Philadelphia on the subjects to which they devote themselves. As error is harmless where truth is left free to combat it, so these few are important only while the many take no means to refute them. If these doctrines which they teach are calculated to excite fears for results which, though not possible, by toleration might become probable, you, fellow-citizens, have to-night dispelled such fears. You have spoken not to be misunderstood. Let me decipher your sign, made in this vast multitude. Let me read it in a language comprehensible by all men, whether North or South, East or West. In the immortal words of the sage and hero, Jackson, it is thus spoken: "Our Federal Union, it must and shall be preserved."

## SPEECH OF JOHN C. BULLITT, ESQ.

Mr. Bullitt said: There are times and seasons when it is the duty of a nation to take a survey of their position—when the man of business should turn from his daily work—the professional man from his ordinary avocations—the farmer from his reaping and sowing—when the whole people should give their most earnest attention to the protection and preservation of their country. If the fleets of a foreign foe were hovering upon the seaboard, every heart would beat with patriotic impulse, and we would readily sacrifice all private interests for the public good. When we are threatened with domestic feuds, the occasion becomes infinitely more urgent—timid and hesitating counsels should then be laid aside—public sentiment should be outspoken—the disturbers of the peace should be restrained by the overwhelming force of public opinion, and the lawful exercise of authority by the government for the suppression of insidious machinations or violent outbreaks, should be sustained and upheld by all who are actuated by a truly loyal and national spirit.

Such an occasion is the present. While peace and quiet reigned throughout the land, while the people were reposing in unsuspecting confidence in the strength and security of the Government, while all around the horizon indicated happy omens of the future, suddenly, upon one of our great highways, almost under the very shadow of the Federal Capitol, a lawless band, impelled by the evil demon of treason, and rioting in the impending prospect of the carnage consequent upon a servile insurrection, seize upon a public arsenal, arouse and make prisoners of citizens at the hour of midnight, shoot down others, and boldly proclaim their intention to break up and revolutionize the social and political organization of one-half the confederacy.

This might in itself be harmless enough if it were but the casual violence of the desperadoes who were immediately engaged in it. It was the work of but a few hours, when the movement was comprehended, to extinguish the flame they were kindling. But the man must be blind indeed who does not see in it the legitimate fruits of seeds that have been sown, and which have been most industriously cultivated by certain classes of people until they have germinated in this mad attempt. What provocation was there for it? What wrong had any one of these men suffered at the hands of Virginia? What has she done to call down upon her the enmities of those or any other class of people? She has but maintained her institutions as handed down from the men who framed the government. Staunch, loyal and true to the Union, she has always moved on in the middle current—

never lending herself to violence or intemperance in her political sentiments.

But one cause can be assigned for this attack upon her. It was the settled purpose of John Brown and his confederates to overthrow the Southern Governments—to stir up a servile insurrection which would spread from State to State in desolating fury. It was but working out practically what for years has been promulgated in various parts of the North, in many newspapers, from the pulpit, and the hustings. It was but the attempt at demonstration of principles boldly avowed and endorsed by members of Congress, Governors of States, newspaper editors, and itinerant lecturers. It was not at Virginia alone the blow was aimed. Every Southern State was to share her fate. Need we proof that it was not a mere accident or a casual outbreak of a few lawless spirits? Cast your mind's eye back for the last few weeks. Who furnished the arms and munitions of war which were collected near Harper's Ferry? How came Brown to have the means to make preparations? Had he not aiders and abettors in his so-called "Kansas work?"

But further witness the sympathy, the threats, the eulogies that have found expression in reference to the leader of that band. On Friday last, in churches professing to worship the true God, prayers were addressed to the Throne of Grace, breathing such hot treason that they should have blistered the lips that uttered them. In the capital of the State of New York, guns were fired by a Government officer, with a Government cannon, in commemoration of the glorious death of a felon. Throughout New England, village bells were tolled in lamentation over the fate of the man, who, taken while in the very act of treason, and red with innocent blood, was suffering a traitor's doom! Here in our midst, with shame be it said, he was elevated above all other heroes, patriots and philanthropists, and execrations and anathemas the most dreadful heaped upon the head of the Executive of Virginia for the simple discharge of his duty.

These things prove the magnitude of the danger to be apprehended. Men, whose philanthropy leads them to love other colors and races more than their own, who see in the salutary restraints of the wholesome laws of the Republic nothing but tyranny and oppression, who repudiate both the Old and New Testament, because they find no warrant there for sedition and insurrection, proclaim loudly and boldly their dangerous tenets—that thousands of other traitors are to spring up to carry out that which in this case has proved so miserable an abortion. The press, the pulpit, the stump, are to be subsidized—wealth is

to furnish the means, talent is to direct, and misguided zeal and fanaticism are to execute their foul purposes.

These are not mere idle speculations. They are but the expression of what these people loudly, boldly, shamelessly proclaim as their future prospects and purposes. I have been told, since this meeting was called, that it was unnecessary—that this was giving an importance to an affair which would die out and soon be forgotten if treated with contempt. I have heard similar arguments used before. Virginia was reposing in conscious security, indifferent to and regardless of the ravings of the would be philanthropists and fanatics who were preparing to desecrate her soil and crimson it with the blood of her citizens.

We of Pennsylvania were indifferent to the mad and treasonable proclamations and addresses that for years have emanated from our midst, while the preparations were going on under the eyes of our citizens for a wicked and murderous descent upon our sister State.

It will not do for us to treat this with indifference or contempt. There is a point beyond which it is weakness to be indifferent, and forbearance is no longer a virtue.

I advocate no violence. Let public sentiment speak out and frown down every incendiary attack, either by word or deed, upon the integrity and institutions of the country, come from what quarter it may. Let it be known that the freedom of speech, which every freeman should enjoy, is not to be perverted to the stirring up of civil war. Let it be known that while every man shall be protected in his lawful rights under the established government, condign punishment will be meted out to him if he abuses his privileges by fomenting civil discord and compassing treason.

As far as Virginia is concerned, every consideration, whether of interest, or policy, or patriotism, or attachment, impels us to guard her rights, her integrity, her welfare, as we would our own.

Virginia and Pennsylvania stand as the two great middle States of the Confederacy. They have both been always pre-eminent for their patriotism and fidelity to the Union. Identified in revolutionary reminiscences, with a common border, with mutual interchanges socially and in trade, time should but bind them together more and more strongly with each revolving year. Can it be forgotten that the great act which has given the name to Independence Hall was the production of a Virginia statesman! Can it be forgotten that he who presided over our common destinies in the dark days of the Revolution, and



led the troops of Virginia and Pennsylvania shoulder to shoulder in that struggle—he who achieved our independence, and then with a wisdom, a moderation, and true patriotism never before exemplified, organized and started our government upon its unrivaled career of prosperity and greatness—that he who, by his wise counsels and great deeds, and patriotic services, won for himself the title of Father of his Country—can it be forgotten that he was a native of Virginia's soil, and that his remains now repose beneath her turf!

And are we to be told that we must stand by, cold and indifferent, when that sister State is convulsed in every part? When, too, the foul treason which has drank the life's blood of her citizens was plotted and prepared in our own State? She was the victim to be sacrificed. Pennsylvania soil has been desecrated by the preparations to offer her up. No! No! It cannot be. Let us say to her that she is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—that the blow which vibrates through her pulse is felt no less in ours—that we will indignantly frown upon every attack upon her rights, by word or by deed—that while we may be unable to guard her against the midnight assassin who may furtively cross our borders, yet, knowingly and willingly, we will harbor no traitors against her peace—that we will stand as a wall between her and the mad fanaticism which would war upon her institutions and the safety of her citizens—and that as far as depends upon us, the safety, the integrity, the perpetuity of the Union shall be preserved.

Nor let these be idle words, but as far as may be in our power, let us live in the closest bonds of sympathy and fellowship with her, as with the rest of the confederacy. Let it not be that by any act of ours, either of omission or commission, the smallest fibre shall be broken of the ligaments that bind us to her most closely of all the States of the Union.

In the union of these two States I believe is to be found the surest guaranty of the perpetuity of our government. Together they can heal dissensions or overawe any mad attempts at disunion, come from what quarter they may. Once estranged and divided, once arrayed in angry or bitter feelings against each other, the dividing line can easily be found. Let us, then, determine that no such lines shall ever be drawn—that Pennsylvania will stand by Virginia as she did in the days of the Revolution—that her people shall be our people—her foes shall be our foes.

## SPEECH OF BENJAMIN GERHARD, ESQ.

We are met this evening to express our opinions upon certain recent public occurrences. A sister southern State has just been the scene of a great outrage, committed with calm deliberation by northern men. The laws of Virginia have been defied in this wicked act—the State invaded—the firesides of its citizens attempted to be put in peril; and had the end and efforts of these deluded men succeeded, the homes and property of our brethren would have been destroyed, and other crimes too fearful to name have followed.

Well, the attempt failed—some of the guilty parties have been slain—others have been tried and convicted, and one has paid his last debt to the law by an ignominious death. Has quiet yet ensued? Far from it—even our peaceful city has exhibited a spectacle stamping disgrace upon it, by the eulogy of crime and the sanction of the great wrongs which have been perpetrated. Do you endorse the meeting to which I refer? Tell me, my friends, whether this is a correct representation of your feelings and views? I know what will be your indignant reply, and I know that to give that answer in the most emphatic manner, you have met in this great assemblage. And we stand here now in this place to denounce the Virginia plot, to express our firm adherence to our beloved Constitution, and our unswerving loyalty to the Union. No fanaticism has play in this great metropolis, and in this great State. Pennsylvania will ever be found, as she always has been found, on the side of the Constitution and the laws. And as we deeply deplore the wrong done to our sister State, we wish here, and now, and everywhere, always to say so; and following the example of our illustrious forefathers, to pledge to the Union “Our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors.” We desire here to say to our southern brethren, you are our brethren, and as such you will ever find us—always ready and always prepared by our moral and physical force to resist any injury done or intended to be done to you, as an injury done to us and our families. Tell me, my friends, if I do not speak your sentiments? With such sentiments there can be no talk of a dissolution of the Union; the Union is in our hearts, it will remain in our hearts, and no power can separate the citizens of the United States.

But some will be found (not here, I am sure,) who will say, we wish no disunion—that wish comes from the South—the South demands it. But is this so? Do you believe it? Let me have the evidence of it. It may be said to be found in the general feeling of exasperation exhibited through all the slaveholding States. Is this true? Grant that it is so, and I believe it. Can

it exist without a cause? Is there no reason for it? Has the South no cause for exasperation of feeling? Have no attempts been made upon the rights of the South? Do not some misguided people of the North desire to introduce a servile war within our southern borders—and thus to fire their houses and shed the blood of their families? I do not ask whether or not these parties specifically desire these results of a servile war; but must they not know that such results will follow from their efforts. Can we then say that the south has no cause for this exasperation of feeling?

But again, when and where in this enlightened land, was it ever heard or known that a great section of our country was united in a sense of a common wrong without a cause for it. Let us not be so unjust to our brethren—it can never be true—it never was true, and never will be true that such a sentiment can exist without a cause. I say then, without fear of contradiction, that the mere existence of this feeling is of itself sufficient proof that there is cause for it—and let us agree to put it aside—to extinguish it at once and absolutely.

I know you all assent to my proposition, and from this time out I anticipate a great moral change. This meeting and this night will commence a new era; our southern brethren will once more open their hearts to us, and we shall once more become a united people, rejoicing in our Union, proud of our Union, and determined that it shall endure as a lasting fruit of the labor and wisdom of our forefathers. Let us not be misled by European ideas which are as insidious as they are false. Before England undertakes to teach us, let her remove the stain upon her own garments; before she instructs us as to our duties in regard to African slavery, let her at least absolutely renounce it, no matter under what name she may clinch it.

That there has been a recent development of anti-slavery fanaticism in the northern part of the United States, there can be no question; and the foundation of it, I think, is equally plain. It is clear that it rests upon English soil, and that it is a British crusade against our domestic institutions. It is needless to refer to proofs for this; we all know it as a fact, obtruded upon our daily vision. Whence does this philanthropic attention to our interests arise? Does it rest upon true humanity? I think not—I know not: or else they would begin their reform first with their own nation, upon which lies the offence they charge upon us in its most aggravated form. I need only, for this, adduce the testimony of one of our townsmen, who recently visited the Island of Mauritius. African slaves, called apprentices, are imported into this island, after having been bought

from their barbarian kings for trinkets and other articles of trifling value, nominally for a term of years, but really for as long a period as their owners choose to detain them. And when imported into the English dominions, you shall learn, in the words of the author to whom I have referred, how these slaves are treated.

“One day, whilst strolling up an avenue contiguous to a wharf, I was attracted by a crowd assembled around a walled enclosure. Taking the privilege of my nation (curiosity), I elbowed my way through the vast assemblage, and saw (‘tell it not in Askelon, publish it not in Gath’) two English auctioneers, in a country under England’s control and governed by England’s laws, mounted on their rostrum, selling, what they call in the British Isles, their fellow-men—co-equal in all respects to themselves. To say that I was surprised would convey but a faint idea of my feelings; I was really astounded. \* \* \* \* \* This feeling soon gave way to that of indignation at the recreant sons and daughters of our own soil, who disgrace our country, after having been nursed and rocked in the cradle of liberty, as soon as they are out of their swaddling clothes, turning upon and stinging their nurse, and, for the sake of political or monetary personal aggrandizement, publishing wishy-washy novels, containing such perverted descriptions of our Southern slavery system as to induce foreigners to think our boast of liberty and free government is but a farce. Such persons do not merit being dignified by the notice of honest men, which they court; and whether it be in the form of a favorable mention or a criticism is all one to them, so long as it gives them publicity.” (*Whitecar’s Whaling Voyage*, pp. 318, 319, 320, 321.)

“On the principle that sparing the rod spoils the child (for these people are viewed only as children) their owners are not at all reserved in the use of this instrument of chastisement; and along with the gangs at labor may the overseer be seen applying it without remorse. \* \* \* \* \* “This, however, is not their only way of punishment. I saw several instances of gross personal abuse. In one case I saw the slave thrown down, and dragged by the waistband over the sharp points of the macadamized street, with nothing to protect him from laceration except several thicknesses of calico. \* \* \* \* \* A police officer stood looking on apathetically, as though the whole affair were a matter of course.” (pp. 318, 319.)

Neighboring nations must live together either under a convention or a constitution. I prefer the latter, if only from the low-

est computation of interest. I need only point out for the correctness of my choice, the present condition of England, kept, for some time past, by France under an annual expenditure, for extraordinary defensive preparations, of \$250,000,000—a tax equal to more than three times the whole annual expenditures of our government.

But we must not put a money value on the Union. The Union is our country, and he who does not love the Union is unworthy of our attention. I will not waste my time by addressing such a person. But I speak to those who love their country; and they only are worthy of our regards. To them it is derogatory to speak of the value of the Union; and they would rightly consider it as irrelevant as to ask one who builds a church or founds an hospital, endows a university or establishes a gallery of the fine arts, what is the value of such a work? We love our country; that is, we love the Union.

It is easy to say that the influence and power of this country for good among the nations of the world must depend largely upon the Union. As we are great, and strong, and powerful, so shall we be able to advance right and repress wrong, succor the oppressed and strengthen the free; so, too, the blessings of civilization and Christianity can be diffused by us, almost in the proportion of our national greatness. We ought not to be driven to such considerations as these. A family never can be allowed to estimate for any purpose whatever the value of their family bond. It is an affection and sentiment, and we should yield ourselves to its kindly influence without investigating its value or utility.

In order to conform to the real object of this meeting, our attention must be confined to the action of ourselves and those around us. Is the South true to the Union? I do not doubt it is; but if it is not, that is not a subject for the consideration of this meeting. Are we true to the Union? that is the question, and I know its answer. Let us, then, here pledge ourselves to the Constitution and the Union, and determine, in good faith, honestly and fearlessly to perform our duty in every relation, as good citizens of the State of Pennsylvania and of the United States, and thus we will secure to ourselves and our posterity those blessings which our forefathers obtained for us.

## THE UNION FLAG OF PHILADELPHIA.

The Committee of Arrangements of the late Union Mass Meeting received a handsome banner from a number of ladies of this city, having inscribed on the front, "*Union Forever*," and on the reverse, "*Pennsylvania greets her Sister State, Virginia, December 1, 1859.*" This flag was forwarded to Governor Wise, of Virginia, as the first executive officer of that State, accompanied by the following letter:

*Philadelphia, December 12, 1859.*

*To His Excellency HENRY A. WISE,*  
*Governor of Virginia:*

SIR—The proceedings of the immense meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, "irrespective of party," have already attracted the attention of the country.

The resolutions unanimously adopted by the meeting clearly and pointedly expressed the Union-loving and law-abiding views and sentiments of an overwhelming majority of our people.

Over the heads of thousands, who eagerly participated in the expression in our city, the flag which accompanies this letter waved, and was hailed by the deafening cheers of patriotic feeling.

Pennsylvania greets her sister State, Virginia, and sends to her that flag, through the hands of her first executive officer, as an evidence of her warmest sympathy, respect, and support. She begs Virginia would understand, that the great mass of citizens of Pennsylvania, the Keystone of the Federal Arch, are perfectly loyal to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and that they are opposed to any act of any party which would violate the rights of any State of the Confederacy, or which would jeopardize public tranquility, and the perpetuity of the Government.

This flag, the gift of the ladies of our city to the Committee of Arrangements, we forward as a relic of the great conservative movement which Philadelphia has inaugurated. We feel that it was proper for the first rebuke to treason and fanaticism to em-

anate from the City of Independence, where once the sons of Virginia met the sons of Pennsylvania, and pledged a "Union of hearts, a Union of hands, and the Flag of our Union forever."

With great respect, we remain,

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES S. GIBBONS, *Chairman*.

CHANCELLOR BAILEY, *Secretary*.

RENE GUILLOU,  
R. W. SOUTHMAYD,  
JOS. F. TOBIAS,  
CHARLES P. HERRING,  
M. S. SHAPLEIGH,  
WM. H. PEIRCE,  
MARSHALL A. JONES,

J. W. BACON, M. D.,  
EDWARD S. ROWAND,  
HENRY A. STILES,  
DANIEL C. MUDGE,  
WM. VAN OSTEN,  
R. G. HARPER,  
SAMUEL SPARHAWK.

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## GOVERNOR WISE'S REPLY.

*Richmond, Va., December 18, 1859.*

To JAMES S. GIBBONS, Esq., *Chairman, &c.*:

DEAR SIR—At the earliest moment that I have been able to do so, I acknowledge yours of the 12th, presenting, through me, to the State of Virginia, a flag from the citizens of Philadelphia, irrespective of party, pledging a "Union of hearts, a Union of hands, and the Flag of our Union forever."

With that pledge I gratefully and affectionately accept that beautiful flag, which has been received, and is now unfurled on our capitol, for a commonwealth which gave a Jefferson to Carpenter's Hall for the day of the 4th of July, 1776, and a Washington to make the declaration of that day, from that hall, good.

Your sympathy, sir, is the sympathy of patriotism; it is the beating of hearts to hearts, in bosoms which feel as our fathers felt towards each other. It would have been strange and unnatural, indeed, if any other feeling than this had flowed forth from Philadelphia. And you may rely on it, that we still have confidence in and love for the patriots of Pennsylvania. Your State, in the late disturbances of our peace, has acted the part of a sister State. We rely upon her loyalty to conservative principles, as they are embodied in our Constitution of Union; and we are assured that the mass of her citizens would be our brethren in

arms against any wrongs to either commonwealth. It is for that reason that I confidently appealed to their authorities to be vigilant to restrain those who would assail our peace and safety. And it is because of our sincere desire to preserve the Union, that we are impelled to ask, not only for sympathy from the people in their primary assemblies, but for the sanction of conservative laws to enforce the obligations of the Constitution.

I will communicate your letter to the General Assembly of Virginia, now in session, and invite them to take order upon the presentation of a flag, which, I pray, may be a sign of our "Union forever."

I am, with grateful emotions, your fellow-citizen,

HENRY A. WISE



## ACCEPTANCE OF THE FLAG.

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA.

*Richmond, Va., Dec. 23, 1859.*

TO JAMES S. GIBBONS, ESQ. :

DEAR SIR:—By order of the General Assembly of Virginia, I send a copy of their resolutions to you, expressing a cordial response to the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia, on the presentation of a flag inscribed with their loyal devotion to the Union as framed, and the Constitution as construed by the fathers of the Republic. With heartfelt congratulations upon these evidences of amity, I am sir, with sincere respect for you personally,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY A. WISE.

*Whereas*, A large number of the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia have presented to the Commonwealth of Virginia a Flag, inscribed with an expression of their loyal devotion to the Union as framed, and the Constitution as construed by the fathers of the Republic, be it

*Resolved, by the General Assembly of Virginia*, That we gratefully accept the beautiful gift as a renewed evidence of the devoted patriotism of that heroic band of Northern conservatives, who have so long maintained an equal conflict with the assailants of our rights, and the enemies of our peace, and that wherever fortune may invite or fate impel in the future, Virginia will cherish with affectionate gratitude the memory of those who so bravely encounter frowns of faction, and so nobly defy the fury of fanaticism.

*Resolved*, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to communicate a copy of these resolutions to James S. Gibbons, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Passed in both houses of the General Assembly, December 22, 1859.

W. F. GORDON, *Clerk.*

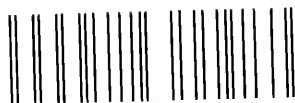








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